

PAKISTAN

AND

UNTOUCHABILITY

CH. AFZAL HAQ
(AHRAR)

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FOREWORD

The communal question has grown so serious in India, especially since the inauguration of the Provincial Autonomy that Pakistan has been prescribed to be the only panacea for all the Muslim ills. The Muslim League sees no other way of consolidating the position of the Musalmans of India, except establishing a seprate home-land for themselves. But if this scheme, which aims at the segregation of Indian Muslims, is examined critically and rather dispassionately, the sane-minded Muslims shall undoubtedly arrive at the conclusion that it is **not** a religious movement at all, but it is solely inspired and engineered by political leaders, who simply exploit the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim masses. It is the primary need of the occasion that this vital issue must be analysed and judged at its intrinsic value. Although much has been said for and against the proposed scheme, yet I find that there is a scope still for a disinterested commentary. The

following few pages are an attempt in that direction.

This book was written last year in the Rawalpindi jail when I was undergoing imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules. It could not see the light of the day as I had to proceed rather hurriedly to Karachi to recuperate my shattered health. Even now its publication is being rushed through, and I found practically no opportunity to go through the proofs.

I am much grateful to my young friend Mr. Abdullah Butt for the invaluable help that he has rendered in looking through the proofs. There will be no exaggeration about the point, if I say, that it would have been delayed still further but for his untiring energies and enthusiasm.

Lastly I have to make an appeal to the general reader to appreciate the outlook and the view point which has been impressed in this book and ignore its faults. I hope that my sincere voice, though feeble, shall have the desired effect.

Karachi, (Ch.) AFZAL HAQ.
15th May, 1941.

1—THE PROBLEM.

Mr. Jinnah like a ruthless terrorist has thrown a bomb amidst us, creating chaos and confusion at a time when concerted action was our greatest need. The ultra-nationalist Jinnah has turned a rank communalist. It must set us a thinking. The League resolution, which was passed at his instance aiming at the vivisection of this country into two parts, may be condemned as ill-timed if not wholly mischievous; and it reveals a sure sign of a serious ailment in the body politic of India. A clever politician as he is, he has taken full advantage of the present strained relations of the two major communities. Instead of applying the balm to heal the wounds he has thought it fit to apply the knife to cut the body into pieces. It is just possible that the Muslim League Leaders may not be serious in carrying the Lahore resolution to its logical conclusion but the ball is set

rolling and no one should be in doubt as to the serious consequences that will accrue from it. The slogan of a separate Muslim nation is bound to create a deep impression on the Muslim masses. No one can easily call a halt to the disintegrating tendencies of Muslim Capitalists. Muslim masses are completely in the hands of the classes. The tendencies manifested by the upper classes are bound to capture the imagination of the Muslim Community as a whole. It can unfortunately be concluded that the present differences will be accentuated so much that the past communal disturbances will pale into insignificance as compared with the future upheavals. The partition scheme of Mr. Jinnah is not still-born; on the contrary the League has given birth to a many-headed monster which is capable of doing immense harm, if not properly controlled. The question of questions is, how to control the baffling situation created by the League resolution. My answer to this is, that we should first dispassionately analyse

the forces behind that demand and should know the causes of the trouble before suggesting the remedy for it.

The world to-day is amazed how the Nazi Leaders built up their power on an absurd theory of superiority of the Aryan race and how a most advanced nation of Europe meekly accepted the leadership of the so-called uncultured Hitler. The communal history is absolutely relevant to the problem with which we have to deal in India. High sounding statements and unnecessary platitudes will bear no result. They will rather worsen the situation. There is no denying the fact that communalism existed even before the advent of British Raj, and after India's domination by the foreigners. Our national leaders did not try to take a realistic view of the situation, with the result that the situation practically went out of their hands. I quite frankly admit that our leaders tried to grapple with the political problems of the country from time to time very earnestly but not very intelligently.

We always tried to rest in the comfortable belief that the Muslim masses clamour for some political rights and that there is no other problem that immediately confronts them. That erroneous conclusion led the leaders to tackle the communal problem from the wrong end. The communal problem is at once a political, religious, historical, social and economic one. The political aspect is the least significant. The religious side of the question is given undue importance. Social and economic aspects of the question have been neglected altogether. This neglect of the all-important phase of our life is responsible for the wrong lead given by the League. Why does the cry uttered by the separationist gather strength? It is because the Muslim masses are swayed by anti-Hindu passions. Again comes the question, "Why is it so?" My analysis of the problem will not be agreeable to the Hindus and the fundamentals of my solution cannot be palatable to the Muslim Leaguers, but I courageously claim

that my reading of the situation is 80 per cent correct and the remedy suggested by me is cent per cent right. I know that the ultra-nationalists and the rank communalists will give a cold reception to this book. But wide circulation and universal approbation is not the aim of it. My only object is to educate the moderate elements of all communities in the country as to the real problem that confronts us. Hitler's theory of race superiority may look like a huge joke to us; but there is a hard rock of grievance behind it. The Versailles Treaty did not only pronounce the verdict of political serfdom on the German people but also economically they were relentlessly robbed and looted. I am sure that you will swoon with horror if you know a quarter of the misery of the German people after the treaty. The learned author of "The fool Hath Said" says, "The street of Berlin before the Nazi regime, when everybody was for sale, when hunger drove boys and girls to submit themselves

to revolting humiliations, when the wildest whim of the most exotic taste could be gratified for the payment of a few marks” So it was not the slogan of Hitler that worked wonders in the Naziland but it was misery of the masses that brought the Germans under his banner. Passions can only be aroused when there is a genuine grievance and a solid demand for redress behind it. Slogans are the outward manifestation of a grievous wrong to a community. Some times demands are manifestly exaggerated and the arguments to support them very faulty, still foolish slogans are more effective than a well-worded sermon provided there is reasonable cause for complaint. Mr. Jinnah may be manifestly wrong in his arguments but the very fact that Muslim masses are carried away by the slogan of a separate Muslim nation is a conclusive proof of the fact that they bear some genuine grievances which ought to be remedied at once. I admit that passions can be worked up in unintelligent

people for a short period. But the masses cannot be led away by clever people for all times unless there is a real cause for complaint.

The Late Lala Lajpat Rai, a very charming and intelligent leader of the Punjab, joining hands with Pandit Madan Mohan Malviji, started to rouse the passions of the Hindu community in the year 1926. A Pathan invasion and Muslim dominance in India were their slogans. These two gentlemen had a long record of service to their country and community. Their forceful communal speeches turned the scales in favour of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Congress candidates were completely routed at the polling booth. Most prominent Congressmen forfeited their securities in the General Elections of 1926. Hindu masses sided with Lalaji and Panditji and betrayed the Congress throughout Upper India. When the election fever was over, the Hindu masses regained their lost balance. There was absolutely no danger

of a Pathan invasion, hence the Hindu masses thought that they were befooled and since then they refused to accept the wrong lead of the Hindu Maha Sabha. The Muslim dominance through an Afgan invasion was a mere bogey and so the Hindu masses could not be duped for ever by that bogus slogan. The result was that Hindu Maha Sabha leaders looked small in the eyes of their own people and the Congress emerged strong from this conflict. Contrary to that Muslim capitalist and communalist leaders had always been successful in turning the Muslim masses round their little fingers. Instead of wasting time in finding out the fundamental mistakes in Mr. Jinnah's reasonings I now try to diagnose the malady and prescribe a recipe for it.

I will not quarrel with those who argue that Muslim masses are more prone to base suggestions than any other community, but I refuse to believe that this state of affairs is the creation of passion only and that

Muslims fly at Hindu throat without rhyme or reason. It is just possible that the personal reason may be missing, but surely there are communal reasons for taking each other by the throat. We must either try to appreciate each other's difficulties and resolve to solve them or submit to the inevitable.

2—RELIGION.

It would give the best cause for headache to those who might like to know what is meant by the term nation ; but it will be a complacent self-deception to say without an intimate knowledge of Indian life whether Indian people constitute a nation or not. Generally speaking the term is applied to a people who have common descent, common language, common history, and common religion but to make the term more comprehensive and up-to-date add three more items *i.e.* common social customs, common political institutions and common economic conditions.

It is admitted on all hands that the majority of Musalmans in this country are direct descendants of those Aryan invaders who in the obscurity of prehistoric times pressing downwards through the north-west

passes settled in India. The descendants of the Mughal, Pathan and Arab invaders are few and far between. Hence if untold blessings are inherent in the fact of one nationality and if nationality depends on common blood then Hindus and Muslims ought not to lead a cat-and-dog life as they do at present. The long and short of the matter is that prejudices that are rampant in this country like a mad lion are not due to racial hatred and we must search for their causes somewhere else. Is this, then the difference of religion that has made us a nation at war with itself? Many will cry ditto to it with unshakable certainty, but I politely refuse to believe it, though that refusal may shake their long-standing belief. It is one of the ironies of history that Islam and Hindooism, in spite of highly tolerant teachings, by a series of accidents should have become unfit for enforcing tolerance on their followers. There is nothing inherently wrong in the teachings of both these religions. They

teach us to live in peace and serve each other to the best of our ability. It is not religion but other revolutionery jerks that are responsible for the present state of affair.

The very fact that Sanatanist Hindus believe in a world soul called Brahma, Who includes everything and in whom everything is included makes the Hindu religion as great as the world soul. To a Sanatanist Hindu, therefore, this apparent divergence in the religious belief is the least objectionable. To him this apparent conflict between contrary creeds is a Lila (or Tamasha) of Bhagwan (God). Everyone is ordained to play his part well in the world theatre without taking anything to heart. In every man who seeks to serve others, he sees the "rup" manifestation of Bhagwan and he will call him "devta," the compassionate. Whoever by tact and art rises to fame and position is an incarnation of God. Rama and Krishna on account of great military

feats are worshipped as God's incarnation. One Vedanta philosophy fully supports and encourages this belief.

The Bhagwat Gita or "the song of the Blessed One" admits of the realization of truth from diverse points of view. Intolerance is thus rooted out and petty prejudices are washed off from the mind. A Hindu is in fact a gentleman who never inflicts pain on others and who is tender towards everybody. On account of Vedanta philosophy he becomes patient, forbearing, and resigned. You can attack Hinduism on other grounds but no one can deny the fact, so far as his religious ethics goes, that a Hindu does not assign any great importance to one's religious belief for "Mokhsa" or "Nervana" (salvation). You may believe in Brahma, Visnu, Shiva and Indra, or you may abuse them. You may believe in the Vedas, or you may criticize the Books. Put your faith in Puranas or refuse to believe in them. In Hinduism it is all the same. Hinduism has absolutely no quarrel with

other faiths. On his way to the temple, a Hindu will have no objection to bowing before the tomb of a Muslim saint. He will touch a Ta'zia with reverence. He will not kill an enemy. On the contrary he will be hospitable enough to offer milk to a serpent that happens to make its appearance in his house. Hindu religion is admittedly a peace-loving religion.

Islam is the religion of peace. A Muslim is no doubt a soldier of God but he has to submit himself to His will. The erroneous idea that a soldier cannot be a good peace-maker and lover of peace is responsible for depicting Islam as a militant religion. Islam is rigid only in enforcing certain articles of faith but for those outside its pale it has no other message but that of good-will and toleration. The rigidity of the private religious duties of the Muslim is looked upon as an act of bigotry by those who do not think like him. Islam suffered at the hands of those critics who studied it to

show up its defects rather than appreciate its beauties.

In Islam race or origin is neither a handicap nor a privilege. It aims at forming a classless society; so its doctrines are best suited to proletarianism. It urges people not to be aggressive.

The Quran says:—

Let there be no compulsion
In religion; Truth stands out
Clear from error: Whoever
Rejects Evil and believes
In God hath grasped
The most trustworthy
Handhold, that never breaks
And God heareth
And knoweth all things

As a Muslim you may invite people to the fold of Islam, but you cannot use harsh words, not to speak of forceful conversion.

The Book says:—

Invite all to the Way

Of thy Lord with wisdom
 And beautiful preaching ;
 And argue with them
 In ways that are best
 And most gracious.

A true Muslim is further forbidden to speak ill of deities and gods of other religions:—

Revile not ye
 Those whom they call upon
 Besides God ; lest
 They out of spite
 Revile God
 In their ignorance.

After the Quran Muslims respect the sayings of the Prophet most. It is said that Abdullah, son of Omar, a companion of the Prophet, slaughtered a goat. There was a Jew living in his neighbourhood. He asked his wife whether she had sent a portion of it to the Jewish neighbour or not. She answered in the negative. Abdullah said, "Send him a portion at once, because he had heard from the Prophet that the Angel Gabriel im-

pressed upon him to do good to this neighbours so insistently that the Prophet sometimes thought that God would send an order to all believers to bequeeth their property to neighbours also.

It must be borne in mind that in according good treatment to one's neighbour, Islam does not make any distinction between a Muslim and a non-Muslim.

Abu Hurairah, another companion of the Prophet, said that he had heard from the lips of the Prophet, "He whose neighbours are not immune from his mischief, shall not enter Paradise."

The Prophet further said, "You shall not be Musalmans unless you learn to love your neighbours." There is another saying to the same effect, "If you wish that God and His apostle might love you, then serve your neighbours."

There are hundreds of such sayings as go to show that Islam has the greatest respect for a neighbour whether

Muslim or non-Muslim. The Prophet ordered Muslims to treat a non-Muslim relative kindly and help him in his needs. The faithful are allowed to take a non-Muslim wife and the wife is allowed to retain her religion and social customs.

To do justice in a neutral atmosphere is not difficult, but the real test comes when a man has to do justice to the people, who hate him or for whom he has an aversion. Whatever the circumstances, a Muslim is required to abide by the higher moral law. The Book of Islam says:—

O, ye who believe !
 Stand out firmly
 For God, as witness
 To fair dealings, and let not
 The hatred of others
 To you make you swerve
 To wrong, and depart from
 Justice. Be just ! that is
 Next to piety : and fear God
 For God is well acquainted
 With all that you do.

It is clear beyond all doubt that it is not religion but religious insincerity which has made this land the hell on earth. All agitation against religion must cease because both Hinduism and Islam teach love and not hatred. Let us with one voice protest against those who in the name of religion do irreligious acts.

I quite agree that the central fact of the teachings of Islam is different from that of Hinduism. According to Islam, God sends down prophets, but does not Himself take any shape or form, whereas the reverse is the case with Hinduism. However, as time passed on, new theories and conclusions were mixed up with the religious beliefs of Islam. Some mystics changed the whole phase of this religion and brought it more in agreement with the Vedanta theory of the Sanatanist Hindus. Puritans may enter the strongest protest against this attempt of the sufis, but the fact is that in spite of these protestations, Sufism is now the accepted religion of 80 per cent of the

Muslims in India. The mystic theory of the sufis is quite in consonance with the Vedanta theory, therefore Musalman masses in religious practices resemble Hindus. If Hindus bow down before an image of a deity, Muslims bow down before the graves of Saints and Pirs. Music and dance are prohibited by Islam, but in every Khanqah you hear sweet music and see elegant dancing. You will further see some of the religious leaders of the masses themselves dancing in ecstasy and they are so carried away by the music and dance of the prostitutes that folds of their turbans become loose and they weep and cry like little children. Ordinary prostitutes have taken the place of "Dev Dasis" in the shrines of Muslim Sufis. Music and dance are now as much a part of the Muslim religion as that of the Hindus. The question of music before mosques is absolutely a political stunt. I daily see and hear dance and music before the mosques near the shrines of Muslim Saints and Pirs. No one takes

objection to it. Whoever dares to protest against it, does it at the risk of his life.

If a Muslim of the first century of the Hijra were again sent down to this earth to see the state of religious affairs in India, he would at once say that 80 per cent. Mohammadans inhabiting India are "Kafirs" and that they have only adopted the name of "Muslim" to gain their political ends, otherwise there is absolutely no religious difference between the Hindus and the so-called Muslims. A living Pir and a dead Saint are revered more than a prophet by the ignorant masses. God is dethroned and the prophet is installed instead. Here are some of the poems which are generally recited by musicians and dancing girls at the shrines of great Muslim Saints and Sufis and appreciated by the audience.

Allah has nothing in His skirt except His "Oneness":

اللہ کے پلے میں وحدت کے سوا کیا ہے -

جو کچھ ہمیں لینا ہے لے لینگے محمد سے -

We will get whatever we desire from Mohammad.

جو مستوی تھا سر عرش پر خدا ہو کر -
اُتر پڑا ہے مدینہ میں مصطفیٰ ہو کر -

He who had been sitting as God on the ninth heaven has come down to Medina in the human form of Mustafa, the Prophet.

کل تو مندر میں براہمن کو دیئے تھے درشن -
آج مسجد میں مسلمان بنے بیٹھے ہیں -

Yesterday you showed your face to the Brahmin, in the temple;

To-day you appear as a Muslim in the Mosque.

محمد سر وحدت ہے کوئی یہ رمز کیا جانے -
شریعت میں تو بندہ ہے حقیقت میں خدا جانے -

Mohammad is the secret of Oneness. Who is there who can understand this nice point? According to the apparent law of

Islam he is a human being, but what he in reality is, is known to God alone.

It is not the Prophet alone that now-a-days looks like God to Musalmans, but true to Vedanta theory every head of the Mystic Order is looked upon as God in human form.

چاچر وانگ مدینہ دے کوٹ متھن بیت اللہ -
ظاہر دے وچ پیر فریدن باطن دے وچ اللہ -

Chachar (the last resting place of the saint) looks like Medina (the place where the body of the Prophet is interred).

Pir Faridan is a human being in appearance but in fact he is Allah.

برائے چشم بینا از مدینہ بر سر ملتان -
بشکل صدر دین خود رحمت للعالمین آمد -

For those who have the eye to see (Khan Bahadur) Sadr Din of Multan (a Pir) is the Prophet Mohammad himself who has come from Medina to Multan.

Hear friend, that gay Lord has taken
the human form.

سن کرے برنگی مولا بن آیا ناسوتی ہے -
احد تھین بن احمد آیا ایہہ ملنگ بہبھوتی ہے -

This "Hermit," who has applied dust to his body, is in fact Ahad (God) but has now come incarnated as Ahmad (the Prophet).

This is a bird's eye view of the religious convictions that influence the Muslim masses. Such mystic expressions were formerly confined to Khanqahs (monasteries) alone but in the mosques the differences were maintained between the creator and the created. Now mysticism or Vedanta theory has taken possession of the pulpits also. I have seen a band of musicians reciting such allegorical poems and the people dancing round the pulpit of a famous mosque of Shah Mohammad Ghaus outside Delhi Gate, Lahore. The following couplets are inscribed on the inner walls of the Jama Mosque of Garshankar:

بنده از بندگی خدا گردد-
 نتواند که مصطفیٰ گردد-

“By worshipping, the worshipper becomes God; but he cannot become Mustafa (the Prophet).”

قطره در آب رفته آب شود نتواند که در ناب شود-

“(A drop of water mixing with water becomes water, but cannot become a pearl.”

No one can now dare to raise a finger in protest against such sentiments as are absolutely against the teachings of Islam. Whoever does, he will do so at the risk of his life. The body of the great Puritan leader Mujaddid Ahmad of Sarhind who fought his whole life against the corrupt ceremonies had been buried after death without any tomb on the grave. After three centuries his followers have now taken into their heads to raise a great sepulchral monument over the buried body of their master; the puritans now always looked down upon those who raised any building over the dead body of any person. Now mysticism has captured the imagination

of the Muslim masses and they are favourably inclined towards Hindu practices. This leaning process towards Hinduism would have been more rapid but for the Arya Smaj propaganda. However it is clear from the prevalent customs of Musalmans and the rapid growth of Khanqahs that the religious beliefs of Hindus and Muslims are not poles asunder as some people are apt to believe. In spite of Sufism and Vedanta theories being the guiding principle of Muslims and Hindus respectively, their relations are more strained than before. Though Islam in India has absolutely taken the colour of Hinduism, yet the communal disturbances are looked upon as if they were due to religious differences only.

Some of those who cast a momentary look at the events, will try to challenge my assertion that the leaning process towards Hinduism would have been more rapid but for the Arya Smaj. It is my firm belief that if Swami Dyanand, the great scholar and well-wisher of the Hindus, had

not come to the rescue of Islam the 20 per cent of puritans that now exist could never have managed to survive. Before the anti-Muslim preaching of Smaj leaders the Muslim masses had been absolutely devoid of any religious fervour and they were about to lose their individuality in Hindu society as untouchables. But the virulent Arya Smaj propaganda against Islam whipped some of the Muslim theologians into activity, who took the first opportunity to establish Arabic schools in different parts of the country. They raised the slogan of "down with the Hindu customs" with success. Hindu and Muslim masses for the first time were divided into two different war camps. In politics Muslims leaned definitely towards Britishers. Though they had not much religious fervor left in them, yet they recovered a little from apathy and began to think as a separate entity. I do not deny the fact that the "divide and rule" policy of the Government is also responsible for the present estranged relations,

but the anti-Hindu passions in Muslim masses were greatly aroused by the ruthless mass attack of the Arya Smaj on Islam. Musalmans of India, though Musalmans in name still called themselves Musalmans. The unskilful and unabated propaganda of the Smaj throughout the length and breadth of Upper India made an adverse effect on the Muslim classes, and the Muslim masses were unconsciously carried away by the *esprit de corps*. The result was that the muslim masses, though they knew little of Islam, became anti-Hindu, and the Hindus also imbibed an anti-Muslim passion in those parts of the country where the Arya Smaji was the strongest.

Those puritans, who entered into defensive war against the Arya Smaj, in the heart of their hearts were thankful to the Arya Samaj, because its propaganda afforded them the opportunity of playing the party game with passion and of easily bringing the Muslim masses to their side, if not of religiously

reforming them to their satisfaction. The Arya Smaj raised the cry of Hindus in danger at a time when Hinduism was gaining a victory over Islam. The political power of the Musalmans was gone and there was no driving force left in them. Sanatana Dharma being based on Vedanta theory is an ocean-wide religion. Islam like a stream was about to lose its identity in its waters when the Arya Smaj succeeded in parting Hindus and Musalmans in water-tight compartments. Smajists claim that they had reformed the Hindus and saved them from becoming Muslims or Christians. But what is the Arya Smaj? It is the Hindi edition of Islam, declaring Crusade against everything that was held sacred by Hindus. That was the religious aspect of it. Its belated attempts to protect Hindus from the onslaughts of Islam had absolutely no spiritual significance. Islam at that time was in a morbid condition when the great Swami conceived the idea of saving Hindus from becoming Musalmans. It is just possible that Swamiji

might have seen some people engaged in a futile attempt to take a small bucket of water from the deep ocean of Hindu society but he failed to see that the stream of Islam was falling into that deep ocean and fast losing its identity. Those who ignore the assimilating power of Hinduism are fools. Sanatana Dharma apparently looks stupid and unemotional, but it is obstinate beyond comprehension and therein lies its strength. Hinduism was about to devour the whole of Muslim society as it devoured Buddhism and Jainism but the Shuddhi cry of the Smaj made Musalmans alert. I always appreciate the benevolent attempts of the Arya Smaj in the field of education but its religious efforts helped the Musalmans to realize their separate entity and made the Musalmans stubborn in politics and at the same time de-Hinduised the Hindus more than any other movement. To all intents and purposes the Arya Smaj defeated its own end.

The Religious philosophy of the Arya Smaj is akin to the teachings of original

Islam. Smajists are religiously more aggressive than Musalmans so far as the disrespect of Hindu gods and idols is concerned. Mysticism and the Vedanta theory are quite identical and mysticism is the religion of 80 per cent of the Muslim masses who have drifted a long way from the Islam of Arabia. In spite of these facts there are Hindu-Muslim clashes but no Sanatanist-Arya disturbances. All these facts go to show that our differences are not religious but that these estranged relations are based on other justified feelings of wrong.

Sikhism, another great movement, ought to be studied in this connection. This movement was essentially a spiritual principle and had no political application, and in the beginning, on account of a series of incidents, it developed into a political movement and became anti-Muslim in colour and character. As far as its religious philosophy is concerned, it is still a Gurmukhi edition of Islam, believing in one God and despising

idolatry and even speaking of the Prophet with respect. Though Sikhs claimed to be a separate community politically and their saints were not immune from the virulent attacks of the Smajists, yet there was hardly any clash between Hindus and Sikhs or Sikhs and Smajists on so large a scale as between Hindus and Muslims. Though there is great religious resemblance between Sikhism and Islam, yet there is no love lost between the two in the daily conduct of life. The sympathies of Sikhs are invariably on the side of Hindus and Hindus always side with Sikhs when any quarrel arises over a matter social or political.

When I see that in spite of the fact that present day Islam in India is an Arabic version of Sanatana Dharma, and in spite of the fact that Sikhism and Arya Smaj are more or less Gurmukhi and Hindi editions respectively of original Islam, still there is animosity between Hindus and Muslims, and Sikhs and Smajists always side with Hindus, I come, therefore, to the reasonable conclu-

sion that the Hindu-Muslim problem is not a religious one, and that we must find out those causes which are responsible for the present state of affairs in the country.

It is a familiar but fallacious notion that only Sufis are tolerant towards others and that a puritan Mullah is bigoted beyond redemption. The Mullah is no doubt conservative to the core but all Mullahs will rise with one accord against those who will be any way tyrannical towards others. The term Kafir has nothing nauseous in it. These religious scholars have to use this term to differentiate a Musalman from a non-Muslim. The non-belivers or Kafirs may have their retribution in the next world but as citizens they are not worse off. Islam does not throw Kafirs to the wolves, it rather throws a shield over them. A Mullah in fact is he who can afford to be harsh and intolerant towards the Believers but he has no option but to be kind towards Kafirs. Amongst his own community he is a police officer always to be dreaded, for those out-

side the pale of Islam he has a message of good-will and peace. It is the cosmopolitan Muslims who depicted him as a frowning demon; in fact he is a smiling deity who always thinks well and wishes good of others and more especially of Kafirs.

I quite realise that a Hindu friend will look askance at me because he has never heard anything favourable and kind about a Mullah but I have a convincing proof to change his opinion. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema is a body consisting of religious scholars only. You will always find them fighting on the side of the Congress and explaining away the inconsistencies of the Congressmen even at the risk of being dubbed hirelings of the Hindus. Who is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad? A religious scholar of great renown. It is his religiosity that stimulates him not only to take an active part in politics but always to defend Congress and Hindu friends from the onslaughts of the unkind Muslim critics. There is another Muslim organisation called Majlis-i-Ahrar.

This is a proletarian organization. Its leadership is in the hands of those who are religious-minded people. They are more favourably inclined towards the Hindus and always preach forbearance towards the non-Muslim neighbours. Those Muslim leagues and societies which have no religious back-ground, not only off and on but constantly, kick up a row against the Hindus and the Congress. Are not these facts sufficient to revise one's opinion about the Mullas and exclaim with one accord that our present differences have nothing to do with religion?

Take note of another fact. There are two Muslim Universities, one at Aligarh and the other at Deoband. The former imparts secular knowledge and the latter is a centre of religious learning. The mentality of Aligarh students is always pro-British and anti-Hindu but the mentality of Deoband scholars is anti-British and pro-Congress. The leadership of the Muslim League is in the hands of those who are students of the

Aligarh College or English Universities. They have little or no knowledge of Islam as compared with the members of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Had our differences been due to religion then the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Majlis-i-Ahrar would have been more vociferous than the League in crying down the Congress and the Hindus. Last but not least, had the present complications something to do with religion, then Muslims could not be led by Mr. Jinnah, an able lawyer and politician, but admittedly the last Musalman on earth to know anything of Islam.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

The meek and unmilitant Hindu who is very broad-minded in religion at once turns round with his tail up if he once enters the social field. He changes colour and begins to show his teeth if you dare to go near him. If a Muslim aristocrat in a princely dress goes to a Hindu confectioner to buy some sweetmeats he has to stand at a respectable distance or he has to get a stern rebuke from the shopkeeper. Dare a

Muslim touch the confectioner's hand when giving him the price? No, he has to stretch out his hand with palm up to receive the sweetmeats which will be thrown from some height by the confectioner so that his body may not be polluted by the touch of the Muslim customer. A Hindu is otherwise a thorough gentleman but his small-mindedness in the social field touches the Muslim community to the quick. I am sure that it is not out of spite that Hindus adopt this attitude. Their attitude towards the Musalman is the natural corollary of their social system and they never dream that any body would take objection to it. There are certain sections of people amongst the Muslim community that feel the sting of it and openly say that the Hindus aim at destroying them, and will make full attempt to rob them of their self respect at every step. To those who do not think with me in this respect I say that we differ as to the motive of the Hindu but I am not in doubt as to the effect on the

Muslim community? Self-respect and fine sense of becoming is no doubt killed in a man who does not resent such treatment. An inferiority complex is developed in those who are so treated. Off and on I try that my sweepers may dine with me but as a class the Harijans have developed an inferiority complex and they never agree to it unless and until threatened or compelled. Very recently I asked a Harijan convict in this Jail to dine with me. Hearing this he ran away and hid himself in the latrine. Two other convicts dragged him out and made him sit on a blanket near me. His hands were washed and I gave him a spoon. He was trembling from head to foot as if he had been suffering from shaking palsy for a long time. I was taking a dish made of rice and split pulses. He took a spoonful of it and putting it on the palm of his hand, he threw it in his mouth, taking care that the spoon might not touch his lips. He dared not sit face to face with me. He turned his back on

me with his eyes downcast as if a Hindu bride in a conservative family sitting in front of her husband was performing a "*gauna*" ceremony. After taking three or four morsels he fled away again to take shelter in the latrine. To partake of my food was a great ordeal for him. He told a friend that five minutes of that evening looked like five years of trial to him. This goes to show how we have taken life out of them and crushed self-respect in them. They cannot now feel a heart-beat for deeper things. They cannot understand the real significance of the struggle for freedom and its true motive force.

Do the Musalmans ill-treat the untouchable out of spite? No, Hindus and Musalmans both quite innocently inflict poisoned stings on our countrymen, the untouchables. A serpent can take life out of a man but we kill the man in the untouchable. A lion preys upon the beasts without remorse, so do we treat the untouchables as without repentance for the wrong committed

by us. Though in our treatment of them the element of ill-will is absent, yet the harm done to them is incalculable. The great heart of our people will not weigh down with grief unless and until God sends down for the untouchables a leader who would courageously revolt against the existing state of affairs and organise the Harijans so as to knock down those who discriminate unfairly between man and man under the influence of wealth, caste, creed or occupation. He must be a curious creature who would dare to call Harijans an integral part of the Indian nationhood. Unless we break sharply with our social system and customs and treat the Harijans as our own kith and kin we cannot improve our lot as a nation. If the similarity of geographical and political conditions makes the people a nation then we Indians are a nation no doubt, but the truth of the matter is that we have been divided into factions since 1857 and ready to subjugate if not to consume each other. Untouchability is the first essential cause of our

division and consequently our weakness. Some optimistic people say that our revolutionary jerk will solve the knotty question. India is too deeply rooted in traditions and will not easily weather the storm of any political change, only that social revolution, which is essentially based on economical justice, can make a favourable change in the lot of the people; otherwise to all intents and purposes, this country will remain a house divided against itself for a long time to come. Islam was the greatest social leveling movement but it has failed to achieve its end in India, and the Musalmans themselves were absorbed into the caste system.

The old Indian life not only survived the shock of Islam but it also endured the new western ideas. Indians have not seen a marked change in their social system even after the advent of the British Raj in India. Efforts of a few broad-visioned Hindus did not bring a desired change in the mentality of the masses.

I am conscious of the fact that there was no constant head-breaking before the arrival of the British people in this country. That was because there was no occasion for that. The Musalmans continued to be treated as untouchables since their first invasion of the soil right up to the Congress regime. Musalmans for a thousand years remained as an army of occupation in a hostile population. This gave them political authority and prestige. The Hindus treated the Musalmans as untouchables and Musalmans treated them as a subject race. Both were satisfied and comfortable in their own society. The idea of one nation was absolutely absent from their mind. Rajput princes and Mughal emperors co-operated with each other in the field of politics, but the Hindu-Muslim masses even then did not constitute a nation. Akbar, like a great Sufi, enlarged the boundaries of faith. But even this expansion of the realm of religion did not bring about the desired result. So far as the masses were concerned politics

was the concern of the classes only. Though classes made peace amongst themselves, the masses did not come near each other. Untouchability still divided them into different and hostile camps.

As I have already stated the Musalmans were not treated as untouchables out of spite but because untouchability was part of Indian life from time immemorial and there was no Manu alive to assign the Musalmans to a fifth caste in the Hindu society. Brahma had already given Birth to Brahmans from his mouth and Kshatriya from his shoulder and Vaisya from his thigh and lowly Sudras from his feet; there was hardly any part of the body left to allot to the new class of people. Those who have no class must go to the lowest one, Sudras; the invaded and Malech as (Musalmans) the invaded, were looked upon as people of one class because they could not dream of any other class. The Musalmans did not meddle with the social system of the Hindus and only contented themselves with snatching

political power from their hands. After the collapse of the Mughal Empire the Muslims bowed low before the British people. After the loss of political power and prestige, untouchability remained the chief legacy of Islam in India. Though Muslims lived side by side with the Hindus for centuries, yet this long association failed to produce a sensible fusion between the two peoples. After losing the empire the Muslims suddenly felt that they were standing on the lowest rung of the social ladder. The loss of the empire was not a material loss to the vast masses of the Muslim community because the history of Islam in India is the history of kings and countries, and they had no voice in the administration of the country. However, they lost the doubtful prestige and happiness of being of the same faith with the Emperor.

For some years of the Christian rule Muslim masses were quite satisfied with their lot of being untouchables of the Hin-

dus and Serfs of the British Government, and in fact there was no energy left in them. The new system of British Government generated a new force in the Hindu intellegentsia and they imbibed new ideas and thoughts of the West. Although the magnificent edifice of the British administration in India was constructed on the ruins of the despotic Mughal empire yet it had a democratic background, and the right of citizenship was recognised even for the man-in-the-street. In spite of the fact that every Collector and Deputy Commissioner was a miniature Mughal Emperor in some way still there was a spirit of respect for individual liberty prevalent in the Administration. The Hindu classes welcomed the new era and with the help of large-hearted Englishmen formed the political organisation, the Indian National Congress, to demand more rights in the name of the people. Though this new era was looked on with suspicion by the religious section of the Muslim community yet the

classes soon declared their loyalty towards the British Crown and the masses only opened their eyes to survey the change. They thought that the fates had played false with them and their case was now hopeless. Through the incessant Congress propaganda Indians for the first time in history became conscious of their entity. Muslim masses were still in a dormant condition. The British Government as a counterblast to the Congress claims began to organise loyal Muslims into Megentia of the upper stratum of the Muslim community, and the Arya Smaj exasperated the religious section. Both the vocal sections amongst the Musalman began to spur the inactive masses. Politics did not interest the Muslim rank and file. "Religion in danger" had also no meaning to them because there was little or no difference between Hindu Dharma and the Islam of India. However, the social treatment of Hindus excited them to anger. Though this treatment was not a new phenomenon, yet this era of individual liberty

brought about a little consciousness in the Muslim masses. They were dormant but not dead. The British efforts in the field of politics and Arya Smaj activities in the field of religion excited anti-Hindu passions in the Muslim masses. The Muslim intelligentsia and the puritan Musalmans played an important part in creating this strong feeling. Musalmans of the Aryan race, Musalmans of the Sufi cult, Musalmans of the High Houses, Musalmans of good education were treated alike as untouchables by the Hindu Society. You may be a *pucca* nationalist and four-square Gandhite, yet you will be treated as an untouchable as soon as you announce to a Hindu that you are a Musalman. However justified the Hindus feel and however innocent they plead in their treatment of the Musalmans, in justice they cannot blame the latter if they cultivate an ill-feeling towards them.

I do not insist on a change of heart because the heart of the Hindu is not impure

and a great majority of them treat the Musalman as such without any ill-feeling. But it can be rightly said that this single practice goes to show to the world that Indians are not one people and that Mr. Jinnah is justified in raising the flag of separation.

My own little story will convey a lesson and will shed light on the subject. While still a minor I was asked to get some curd from the bazar. In my anxiety to be looked upon as a clever boy I did not buy it from the shop near at hand. I went a little farther than the vicinity, hoping that I would get fresh curd and so deserve the smiles of my mother. In those days there was hardly any Muslim "Halvai" throughout the city of Amritsar. Hindu and Sikh confectioners did not even receive money from the Muslim customer in their hands lest his touch should pollute them. For this purpose they always used a wooden ladle; the Hindu shopkeeper holding the handle while

the Muslim customer was asked to put cash money in the cup bowl. This wooden "doi" was in use because wood is considered a non-conductor and Hindu shopkeeper's purity was saved from being destroyed by means of this contrivance. Unfortunately when putting the price in the bowl of the Ladle my wrist touched its edge. The man became a demon and he hurled a thousand filthy abuses at me. For a moment I was stunned and stood motionless and then departed never to visit a Hindu or Sikh confectioner's shop in the later years of my life. This simple incident that changed the social aspect of my life took place when there was no political and social agitation in the country and Mohamadans were used daily to pocket such insults. To my knowledge the first cry of the boycott of Hindu shops was effectively raised in the city of Gujrat (Punjab). The Paisa Akhbar was the only weekly organ of the Musalmans in those days, it fanned the flames and the move-

ment spread like fire. It so seemed that Muslims were only too eager to receive the message because the princes and the people both had their own sad experience of the Hindu treatment. Muslim shops were opened; but for any constructive programme economic stability is necessary. The Musalman is lacking in this respect. The result was that the bubble burst soon and 90 per cent of the shops were closed down. The age-long traditions have made the Hindus too conservative to change under any pressure. The Hindu leaders have up to this time displayed a noble vagueness towards this all-important question. The result is that after the defensive Gujrat bycott movement which was spontaneous other organised efforts followed in its trail. Some Musalmans in their attempt to save themselves from the social tyranny of the Hindus have unfortunately developed an anti-Hindu mania. Mohammadans have not made any rapid stride but only crawled in the way of removing untouchability.

A few Muslim shops are the only advantage that accrued to the Muslims by this agitation but its repercussions in politics were immensely harmful. Unsophisticated masses cannot make any distinction between social and political affairs. If once their mind is upset their anger knows no limits. In their rage they even sacrifice their own interests. Here lies the unpopularity of the nationalist leaders. I have heard Sayyid Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari's political lectures. The great speaker carries even the hostile audience with him. In the ecstasy of the moment the people are so moved that drops of water trickle from their eyes and they jump to their legs in an excited state of feeling. When this forceful orator says "Freedom is our birth right, Muslims should get it at all costs," the audience in one voice shrieks out "Allah is great" in approbation. When he says "But this freedom cannot be attained without Hindu-Muslim unity", the Muslim audience gives him a black look. "Unity

with those, they say, who treat us as untouchables is an impossible proposition.' In spite of the noble record of sacrifices a nationalist Musalman is always the loser at the polling booth. Why so? Because the noble record in the service of the country's freedom, to an ordinary Muslim, looks like a loyal service to the Hindu cause. The nationalist Musalman accuses the masses of being inert in politics and the man of the street accuses the nationalist who wants to lead him to be sacrificed at the altar of a Hindu God—Mahatma Gandhi. I know many a noble soul amongst the Muslims that eagerly joined the forces of freedom but retired broken hearted because the position of the Muslim masses had been very puzzling. But the key to this puzzle lies in the fact of the social treatment of the Hindu. Early in the Khilafat movement Muslims went to jails in large numbers. At least the situation in the Punjab jails was unbearable for Muslim workers who were undergoing t' ere senten-

ces in "C" class. Hindu and Sikh convicts were in charge of the kitchens and a Musalman could not dare to pass the threshold. That was not all. Musalmans were ordered to stand at a distance the Hindu and Sikh convict cooks used to throw loaves of bread on their hands. Then the Muslim political workers had to put the iron cups in row and retire. The non-Muslim cooks never put cooked vegetables or pulses if the cup was in the hands of the Muslim, because there was the danger of his polluting touch. But the Hindu workers in "C" class were an exception to this rule. As a protest against this treatment even some prominent Muslim workers in "C" class had to resort to hunger strike and they were so unfavourably impressed that since then "as you have been done by" is their motto so far as their treatment of the Hindus is concerned.

The immediate effect of this agitation in the Punjab jails was that Government had

to arrange for separate kitchens for Muslims. It is quite a curious thing that, whenever any social and commercial agitation is started, it always follows or ends in the slogan of "defensive boycott of the Hindu shops." This slogan touches the heart of the people more than any thing else. The desire that they should not be treated as untouchables by their Hindu country men is ever uppermost in the mind of the Muslim masses. Muslim classes including the League leaders always keep aloof from the boycott agitation. They do not act from principle but they keep aloof because they do not feel the pinch of it. Capitalists, whether Hindus, Mohammadans or Sikhs, do not observe strict boycott of each other and Mohammadan capitalists seldom go for shopping in person and so they do not feel as keenly as the Muslims masses. Moreover they themselves treat their servants as slaves and outcastes. This defensive boycott of Hindu shops therefore is essentially a mass movement, with the

awakening of Muslim masses the boycott agitation will gain strength and volume. Unless Hindu leaders bring to bear their influence on the Hindu masses, Hindu-Muslim unity will become a dream. Muslim masses have little to do with politics. They are not politicians who look to the ultimate good of the country. They argue in a very simple way. "Here is our Hindu neighbour who feels polluted by the very touch of our hand. What right has he to feel so. If he has such a right why should we not pay him in the same coin." There ends their imagination. I know that a section of the Hindu society wants to see the 'touch me not spirit' to continue for ever, because in this way a superiority complex is developed in the Hindus and an inferiority complex is cultivated in the mind of the Musalman. This is a short-sighted view of the situation. Though Islam laughs at the racial or clannish pride, yet to counteract the Hindu view, Muslims are wilfully introducing a new pride based on

a false notion of religion which will be ultimately disastrous to the peace of the country. They are using the Hindu ideology to gain their end. They say that a Hindu is a pagan therefore polluted; his touch will pollute a Muslim who is pure in body and soul. According to Islam all human beings are pure. The religious system of Islam does not rest upon birth, race or class. Yet they cleverly use religion to influence their community because religious hatred is the greatest driving force and therefore an indispensable necessity in this case. Instead of taking up a defensive position and acting upon a constructive programme passions are aroused at once and the boycott movement ends in Hindu Muslim clashes. As I have already said, their boycott movements are mass movements, without the support of the Muslim capitalists therefore they end in fiasco. Any movement without capital is a body without soul.

A young and smart socialist worker, Sardar Kulbir Singh, brother of the renowned S. Bhagat Singh, when with me in Rawalpindi jail, asked a very pertinent question. "How is it" he asked "that no sooner does Ahrar influence increase in a certain locality than Hindu shops are closed down and Muslim shops are opened and the boycott movement gains ground?"

I answered as follows: "whenever you educate a community politically, it means that you try to revolutionise the whole mentality of that community. You teach them to study the different phases of life themselves; in other words you ask them to acquire a new sense of dignity and wish of them that they may become alive to the economic miseries all around and feel the pain of humiliation. We confine our lectures to economic exploitation and political serfdom of our people by foreignness and the people become very touchy on these two points. But when they review the situation and study the position in the

light of those lectures they find the Hindu the worse aggressor than the foreigners in this respect. However clean in person and in dress he cannot touch a Hindu without defiling him, in some cases his shadow is pollution for high caste Hindus. Because he has now acquired a new sense of dignity therefore he feels the pain of humiliation more than before. Hence the eruption of the social volcano."

Apparently this explanation carried weight with him and he seemed to be favourably impressed by it. Then he said 'the Hindus are themselves in favour of removing this social evil.' I told him my impression frankly. "This propaganda against untouchability is a political stunt rather than a change of heart. Hinduism is based on tortuous arrangement of castes. This complicated structure of society is immovable and unprogressive and will continue to refuse any dignities for certain castes and classes. The Hindu

as an individual is not only harmless but a thorough gentleman. When considered in the terms of caste he is a steam roller that moves slowly but steadily to crush everything that comes in its way. Some noble spirits amongst the Hindus no doubt cry hoarse against untouchability but these noble exceptions have not changed the rule of Hindu society so far travel as the Musalmans are concerned. If you to-day in the guise of a Musalman in India you will become sadder and wiser; then and then only will you be able to grasp the problem that puzzles the nationalist Musalmans and pains the Muslim masses."

Then he related his own adventures in the guise of a Musalman that need not be related because it is the ordinary lot of a Musalman. To inflict grievous hurt and humiliation is part of the life of a high caste Hindu. It is no part of his programme to wreak vengeance but his action *ipso facto* engenders hate in the

heart of those who are so treated. Here lies the key to the Indian puzzle. The worst part of it is that Hindu parents are still anxious that their sons and daughters should be well up in these superstitions of six thousand years. In the swiftly changing world you can still see the Hindu ladies coming and going to temples making parabolas and hyperbolas on the road to save the corner of their garment from touching a Muslim passer-by. But never think that they are devoid of human qualities of being kind and compassionate. On the contrary, they are the very embodiment of those qualities but age-long exclusive, tradition of family and environment of their society have made them, the touch-me-not."

A Sikh friend of mine asked me why the Muslims were becoming touchy day by day on the question of untouchability while their forefather did not resent that treatment. I asked him a question and that was the

proper answer to that interrogation " Why do Indians demand Swaraj after a century ? The demand for equality of status is inherent in man. Leaders of the campaign of political emancipation must realise that social emancipation of Musalmans and Shudras is their natural right which cannot be long denied or delayed without prejudicing the country's cause. I further told my Sikh friend how a Hindu lady in my neighbourhood tried to take out sweatmeats from the throat of her minor son who unfortunately bought them from a Muslim hawker and gulped down before she could inform him of the gravity of his action. Several Muslim women were witnessing this scene and in this age of consciousness such acts go a long way in widening the gulf between the communities instead of paving the way for unity.

I have called the Hindu attempts at removing untouchability a political stunt, I will call Muslim zeal for conversion

of the Shudras sheer hypocrisy, because Islam does not condemn any occupation. One's being a street sweeper is no handicap according to it. What right has a Muslim to tell a Sudra to embrace Islam before he is treated as a human being. Can he not say "physician! heal yourself. Had you been a true Musalman you would not have put the condition of conversion precedent to my being treated as a son of the soil. You fly into a fit of rage if I come near you. Still you have the audacity of calling me to a religion whose fundamental law is not respected by you".

I know those Musalmans who pose as religious heads, yet never once in their life tried to sit with their house scavengers and invite them to dine with them. But on the pulpit you will always hear them condemning the caste system of Hindus and praising Islam as a great levelling religion. What a hypocrisy? To give oneself out what one is not. They speak

like a Musalman no doubt but they act as a caste ridden Hindu. If you frankly tell any Muslim religious leader that he is 90 per cent. Hindu in his religious practice he will incite some one to take life out of you. Let us not tell the people what is written in the Quran. Let us act according to its dictation, the world will be eager to follow our religion. Musalmans take great delight in the conversion of great people only and always ignore the under dogs.

It is not only Hinduism that condemned all the members of the Shudra class to the miseries of perpetual untouchability, Musalmans have an equal responsibility for it. All physical and moral instincts are crushed in Shudras. Hindus and Musalmans are equally heartless. To Shudras there is no God. If there is any, He must be deaf or a partizan of Hindus and Musalmans. If He is just and loving then why have the Shudras been so mercilessly treated and why has He never

appeared to help them during the last 6 thousand years. I see the Musalman as heartless as the Hindus, if not more, in their treatment of Shudras. The offer of Shuddi by Hindus or conversion by Musalman is not to treat a human being as a human being but to swell their numbers in order that the upper classes of the Musalmans and high caste Hindus may get political benefit out of them. Hindu congressmen and nationalist Musalmans cry hoarse to get political rights from the Government but I see no change of heart so far as the untouchables are concerned. We have learnt to soar high like kites but we always search for a dead body to feed upon. We use Shudras as a cat's paw to draw for us chastnuts out of the political fire. We have not yet begun to think of Shudras as our countrymen and fellow beings. We are only shedding crocodile tears over the lot of the untouchables. We have not yet made up our mind to transform the untouchable into a touchable. We refuse to act upon the religion of Islam

and to follow the prophet in this respect. Musalmans have no message for the untouchables and consequently Islam does not appeal to them. Musalmans resent the treatment of Hindus but they never for a minute feel for Shudras whom they themselves treat in the same way. What injury a man inflicts on a man! No one outside India can comprehend that human nature can be so wicked as it manifests itself in our treatment of Shudras. Who can imagine the manifold tyrannies endured by humanity here in this country. A great majority of our people have not a noble soul in them. How often we pass by untouchables without offering help to them. Have not these lowly born Shudras human soul in their bodies? Imagine what man has made of man. Why do we resent the foreign rule while we daily torture the untouchables and treat them ten times worse than slaves? Ten times worse or twenty thousand times worse than serfs? Let those who do not believe in the essential wicked-

ness of man come over to India and study the facts for themselves. The followers of Mohammad are ahead of the followers of Manu in this respect. We Musalmans have lost every sentiment of sympathy for the down trodden people. We are as much responsible for keeping down the Shudras as Hindus, if not more. We have also our full share in killing human dignity and self-respect in them and still we boast of professing Islam. What an appalling picture of hypocrisy the Musalman of India is. Against the behests of Islam he takes pride in birth and even upper classes of the Indian Musalman look down upon those who belong to the masses. They have formed an aristocracy of birth but not of mind. They profess Islam but follow Hinduism.

Shudras as a people are centuries deep in rot. Who will pull them to their feet, wipe their faces and transform them? Once I expected great things from the noble-minded Mahatama Gandhi but when

he staked his all to deprive them of the right of separate electorate, all hope was dashed to the ground. For one nationhood joint electorate is a necessity but for those who are treated worse than dogs; separate electorate is the only balm that can heal the age-long sore of untouchability. Separate electorate is the device to recognise the right of those who were so grossly wronged. Nothing less than the recognition of separate political right can save them from the exploitation of their countrymen. They had enough of our love; they must cultivate a spirit of hate against us Hindus and Mohammadan if they desire to live as human beings. They should not listen to our sweet sermons and good wishes. We have not an iota of sincerity left in us. Is there any place on the face of this earth where human beings are so contemptuously treated? Excepting a few persons Hindu and Musalman as a whole are faithfully holding to their traditions. Musalman and Hindu leaders are actuated by political

motives only in making friends with them. Beware it is a snare and a delusion you Shudras require your full social and political rights but if you agree to be tied down to the wheel of Hindus and Musalmans, you will be doomed for another thousand years. Leaders of the untouchables should approach this serious problem in a spirit of realism. Never think that a microscopic minority of Hindu Muslim Leaders will be able in the very near future to break through the formidable wall of orthodoxy. Hindu Muslim masses are not going to budge an inch from their determined attitude towards you. Leaders of the untouchables yielded under the threat of Mahatama Gandhi. To my mind both sinned against crores of people who are suffering from the true old disgrace and humiliation. The duty of the leaders of the untouchables and their sympathisers is plain. They must blow the breath of life in the nostrils of these down trodden people by making them realise how their country men have

treated them. In other words unless you inculcate a spirit of hate in their minds against the Hindu Muslim masses they will never be able to stand on their feet. Separate electorate afforded them this opportunity. Now under the scheme of joint electorates no untouchable will raise his voice against the treatment meted out to them. They are again thrown on the mercy of those who have never shown any love for them. I am sure that Hindus and Muslims will curse my reasoning because they belong to the communities of the exploiters. Can temple entry movement and inclusion of one or two untouchables as ministers in the provincial cabinets change the phase of Indian life? It may be called a slight improvement but it is not a change in the out-look of the people. At this slow pace it will take another thousand years to complete the journey. Only a violent revolt against the existing social order can save the untouchables. Any fraternising effort of League and Congress, Gandhis and Jinnahs will not

master our time-honoured habit of looking at untouchables as low people. Any movement based on love cannot dispel pride from a human heart. Hate is the only known antidote to pride; pride is otherwise an incurable disease. People infected with natural and caste pride cannot be aroused to passionate action. Conscience does not plead the cause of those who are weak and exploited. Wolf is no fit shepherd and caste Hindus and Mussalman are exploiters, they should not be trusted with the uplift work. It is a mad belief that Mahatama Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah will transform the old Adam into a new man. The salvation of untouchables lies in their own awakening based on the philosophy of hate for those who are responsible for their miseries. The philosophy of love, self denying and self sacrifice is injurious in the case of those who have been dispossessed for so long, denied every human right and sacrificed for the sons of the high houses and high castes.

What I prescribe for Shudras I cannot prescribe for a Muslim. Because he has already learnt the virtue of retaliating too much and he is in a position to hit back. Sometimes he is lurid to take a mad plunge into destruction and chaos. But Shudras are lying prostrate, too weak to raise a hand in protest; hence hate will give them the necessary strength. Those people who are now engaged in an apparently very plausible act of uplifting the Shudras are agents of the capitalist, and high caste people. They only want to lull the untouchables into sleep.

• An Ahrar friend Moulana Abdul Qayyum of Cawnpore who is also a convict in this jail informs me that Hindu workers are preaching the philosophy of hate against the Musalmans amongst the untouchables with the result that the untouchables now consider the Musalmans untouchables throughout U. P. Behar and Orissa. This state of affair if true is a message of hope.

Musalman's amply deserve this treatment. Let the Musalman be the first to suffer. Hindus will sooner or later suffer as sure as death the same fate at the hands of Shudras. Let us at any cost instill the spirit of hatred in them to awaken them, then the philosophy of love will transform them. But we must restore them to their consciousness by some injection so that they may feel the indignity hurled on them. If we do so we will reform ourselves and Shudras. Then love will reign in the country.

3.—ECONOMY.

Muslims do not live within their means and never lay by something for a rainy day. Yes, that is the rule. The economic system of Islam does not permit individuals to put by anything for emergency. Individualism is an unpardonable sin, you amass money at the expense of the poor; that is the economic formula of this religion. Usury is considered a cardinal crime, Islam being a proletarian faith and a classless society it cannot encourage people to make their pile. Whoever owns any private property owns it on behalf of the state and the state has full right to regulate property as it deems proper. There are certain restrictions against spending money at will. A person holding private property is not allowed to spend even a pie on luxury. Khalid, the greatest general of Islam, was saked because he gave away ten

thousand rupees to a poet. It was held by Caliph Omer that Khalid had given this money either from treasury or from his pocket. In the former case he had misappropriated and in the latter case he was extravagant. Therefore he deserved dismissal on either count. When Khalid submitted his case for revision, the Caliph further confiscated 20 thousand rupees. It was not possible for Caliph Omer to let go one who once was a waster with such a large sum of money to be tempted again. The Prophet and his companions always looked upon wealth in private possession as a great evil. Caliph Omer never hesitated to confiscate the property of those who were thought to be getting fat. This confiscated money did not go to the pocket of any individual, it was expended on the poor. There was ample common fund for common cause and Muslim society flourished without wealthy individuals. A classless society can only flourish when there are other people living according to capitalistic rules of economy

side by side with them. Jews and Christians lived with the Musalmans but they were not allowed to give money to a Musalman on interest and thus upset the economic equilibrium of a classless society.

Here in India the whole economic system of Islam received a set-back. Fate ordained the Muslims to live with strange people who not only worshipped Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, but were used to treat human beings as impure and untouchable. The law of the land did not give any protection to Musalmans from the exploitation of the non-Muslims while the precept of religion forbade them to exploit others. The Muslims had to go to the wall as the result. Add to it the one-way flow of the country's wealth due to untouchability. A Hindu will not buy anything from a Muslim shop as far as possible. Musalman is a permanent customer of the Hindu. Hindus have the sole monopoly of the Indian trade.

There exist a few Muslim businessmen as an exception to prove the rule.

One will say that it is not due to untouchability that Musalmans lag behind in trade, but on account of their laziness of mind and extravagance which are responsible for the present state of affairs. I recognise that both the factors are detrimental to the economic life of the Muslims *i. e.* their own extravagance and the treatment of the Hindus. Englishmen though nicknamed as a nation of shopkeepers could not compete with a Hindu shopkeeper because of his very sporting habits. How can a nation of spendthrift habits like Musalmans live among such careful people as Hindus without losing its all some day. Englishmen like Hindus will patronize the British firm first and will go to a Hindu and Muslim firm last. Musalmans did not create such prejudices in their minds with the result that they were obliged to make way for Hindus in the economic

life of the country. Very recently with a little political and religious awakening a section of the Musalmans has come to the conclusion that unless they develop same prejudices as Hindus have developed, they will not be able to stand on their feet. They incessantly preach the social bycott of Hindus just as the latter have bycotted them. Some of these preachers do realize that a change for the better is coming over Hindu society but they maintain that this change is so slow that it will not be effective even after centuries and Musalmans will grow weaker and weaker day by day. They have no faith in the reformative steps of the Congress. Muslim masses are ready to place their reliance in socialism but they find little or no response to this movement in the Hindu society. In the new social order Musalmans still hope to be treated as equals but so long as the old order continues their lot cannot change. Go to any Muslim shop and you will seldom see a Hindu customer but Hindu shops

are still full of Muslim customers. "Buy Muslim" slogan is still weak, because it is a movement uncontrolled and unorganised yet. But feelings against Hindus are always there. A curious phenomenon. Muslims hate Hindus and Hindus continue their hate inspiring treatment, still Musalmans flock to the Hindu shop. This shows that any bycott movement, unless skilfully organised and made a part of religion, is bound to fail. We had enough experience of it in the bycott movement of the Congress. Every Indian knew the disastrous effect of the foreign made articles on national economy and easily took the pledge to "Buy Indian," when the bycott movement was at its zenith. After some months enthusiasm cooled down and in spite of genuine feeling people again began to buy foreign goods. In spite of great resentment against the treatment of Hindus Muslim customers still flock to Hindu shop in any number. I mention that Hindus

do not shun the Muslim shops because of spite but because it is their habit of life not to visit a Muslim shop. Since I do not buy sweatmeat, milk, bread and the like from those Hindus who treat me as untouchables it has become my habit not to buy anything from a Hindu shop. I do not hate any Hindu still my steps seldom turn towards a Hindu shop. Though the Hindus like to treat Muslims as untouchables only so far as the cooked articles are concerned but they have now developed a sub-conscience that leads them to the Hindu shops only. If they go to a Muslim shop they go there with effort. Here lies the secret of economic ruin of the Muslim community. I am at one with those who say that Musalmans earn with difficulty and spend with less care and that they have a natural dislike for keeping account. But their incompetence in money matters combined with prohibition against usury is not sufficient

to put them on the mercy of money lenders. The stigma of their being untouchables goes a long way in destroying business in which he invests money because he cannot command the patronage of Hindu public. It is not a fancy but a fact that 70 per cent Musalmans still go to a Hindu shop and only 5 per cent Hindus patronise any Muslim. Muslims as a community are hard pressed and going through deep waters for some decades. Hindus make it a point that no Musalman may be able to get any shop in a Hindu bazar. At first Hindus and Musalmans were living in different quarters and in order to make themselves more safe the Hindus erected big doors with iron bars where a Muslim hawker could not gain admittance. I shall add insult to injury if I asked any untouchable "why do you not do any business?" No Hindu, no Muslim will go to patronize him and members of his own community have not yet acquired the communal spirit

sufficient to "buy from the untouchables;" therefore there is no hope of untouchables buying from untouchables only. Hence there is not an iota of chance for an untouchable to flourish as a trader. The case of the Mohammadans comes next to the untouchables. Hindus consider Muslims as untouchables therefore they have a little chance of success in any business. This is why it is generally felt by shrewed Muslims that unless Muslims develop the same prejudices as Hindus have done their future in India is gloomy. Pulpits of the Musalmans do not help them because Islam does prohibit its followers to consider any body as impure and untouchable. Mosques are the only fit places to carry on such propaganda but Mullah finds himself helpless in this respect. Muslim theologians have not considered this question as a body. So "buy Muslim" movement is only a mass movement in the sense that masses feel the pinch of the Hindu treatment but there is no leader to put any construc-

tive programme before them in order that they may be saved from the daily humiliation. Any aggrieved community which finds no peaceful way to give vent to its feelings, generally resorts to violence. Music before the mosques and taking out processions of cows meant to be slaughtered on Bakr-i-Id day is nothing but the eruption of the pent up feelings. If you diligently go through the history of communal troubles and its causes you will come to the same conclusions as I have come. The Muslim masses before the advent of British Raj were inert and the classes being the governing class had their own pride and a sense of superiority over the Hindus so there was no communal feeling in the community; hence there was no trouble. Englishmen are considered by Hindu masses as untouchables as Musalmans. But no Englishman has any ill feeling against Hindus because Hindus of High Houses who go to them do not dare to put them to humiliation. They dine with them and

invite them to their tables. But when the present order will collapse and when Englishmen have to live here as Indians not as rulers they would then feel the pinch of untouchability. Muslim ruling classes did not feel it in Moghal times. Even to day they do not feel it to the full because the capitalist class amongst the Hindus do not properly observe the rules of Hindu society but Muslim classes now have only begun to appreciate the plight of the Muslim masses on account of Hindu untouchability. British officers felt the need of studying the question of present debt and they prominently brought to light the growing poverty of Muslim masses and in their own novel way tried to help them. They did not bring the untouchability question into prominence through fear of Hindus. The English Government wanted to drag the shudras out of the clutches of the Hindus but Mahatama Gandhi threatened to fast unto death. Government fearing the political consequences of it, let down the shudras.

Untouchability is the worst form of slavery. All credit is due to the High soul of Mannu who has left the sons of the soil to live not as separate nations but as enemies engaged in an unending war. To day when I was writing this I received the Daily Tribune of 27th May 1940 which contained a very recent article by Mahatama Gandhi published in the Harijan. I give it below in order to show that what I have written is not an exaggerated view of the situation :—

Bombay, May 25

“I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that he who has the slightest untouchability in him is wholly unfit for enrolment in the Satyagraha Sena. I regard untouchability as the root cause of our downfall and Hindu Muslim discord. Untouchability is the curse of Hinduism and therefore of India. The taint is so pervasive that it haunts man even after he has changed over to an other faith,”

writes Mahatama Gandhi in to-day's Harijan in answer to a correspondent's question if Gandhiji does not agree that it ought to be made an absolute rule in the Satyagrah camps that no one who regards the touch of Harijans as polluting and does not freely mix with them should be permitted to attend them.

Replying to another question if it does not prove a short cut to the removal of untouchability if the congress started a plan to train Harijans as expert cooks for Hindu homes and made it a rule to man every ashram or mess meant for the congress with Harijan cooks thus trained. Gandhiji writes "Our ambition should be to enable the Harijan to rise to the highest rank but while that must be the ideal it would be a good thing to train some Harijans to become accomplished cooks. I have observed that more we draw them into the domestic service the quicker is the pace of reform. Harijans who become

absorbed in our homes lose all sense of inferiority and become a living link between other Harijans and Savama Hindus."

United Press.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the great leader of India has come to the right conclusion at last. But nothing has yet been done to show that congress leaders will take up the matter earnestly. Mahatama Gandhi devotes his whole time and energy to remove the taint of untouchability from the shudras but makes a passing reference to the treatment of Hindus with Musalman; which shows to an ordinary man as if Mahatamaji has no heart in removing the stigma of untouchability from the Mohammadans; whereas the Mohammadans deserve the same amount of attention as Shudras. Mahatamaji must know that an attempt is being made to embrace the Shudras to use them against Musalmans. Musalmans have no right to blame the Hindu leader of nationalist

India because he is surrounded by those luminaries who are more interested in Shudras than Muslims; and Musalmans have made no serious attempt to 'deserve his attention. Some Muslims call Mahatamaji a shrewed little bania who has only sweet words for Musalmans and in his heart of hearts likes to see Muslims as under-dogs of Hindus. This is an unbecomingly construction on the working of Mahatama's mind. We Musalmans never put our social problem to him, never sought his advice and in fact never patiently heard him. He is after all a human being capable of being influenced by the environment. As long as big brothers Moulana Mohamad Ali and Shoukat Ali were with Gandhiji, he was thinking more in terms of a Musalman than of a Hindu. The fates ordained otherwise. The Mahatama, who was in the pocket of Ali brothers, has been thrown into the lap of those who naturally think in terms of a Hindu. Moulana Azad is a scholar. Scho-

lars are always shy and incapable of influencing the character of those with whom they come in touch. They think it below their dignity to talk freely with any body and assert their point of view. So Musalmans are out of court so far as the Mahatama is concerned. Moreover efforts of one man however great, cannot be crowned with success when the problem to be tackled is so puzzling. Hindu society is always desirous of excluding others. Reform in such an essentially exclusive. Society is not an easy matter. Here in the Punjab there is a national institution called the Servants of the People Society controlled by first class Hindu patriots of the province. They firstly never admitted any Musalman in that society because as a people Hindus are brought up in an exclusive atmoshpere and they feel a certain amount of uneasiness among Muslim society, secondly the donors are Hindus, and if they dare to admit any Mohama-dans they will lose the sympathy of Hindu

philanthropists. There is an Insurance Company managed by highly patriotic persons but they seldom employ a Mohamman-dan. So mere verbal generosity of outlook cannot solve the practical difficulties. Moreover if Gandhiji does not himself realise this and some one presses upon him the desirability of propagating against the exclusiveness of Hindus in the economic field, do you think any Hindu will hear him? No, this is expecting too much of them.

In short Hindus do not only shut out Musalmans from social circles, but also do not admit them in business. On the contrary Baniain a Mohammadan village still living like a lord wielding authority and having prestige but in the villages of Hindu Jats he is looked down upon and in the villages of Sikhs he is harrassed. Moham-madans were never considered fit for benevolent treatment even at the hands of Banias. This exclusiveness of the Hindu in the field of economics has made the position of

the Musalman very pitiable and has left no potentiality in the rank and file to work out a constructive programme. Now Muslim masses have become very touchy on account of poverty and can be easily excited to fly at a Hindu's throat. They have had to pay very dearly for their madness. They kill Hindus but are hanged proportionately in larger numbers and bring calamity to a still greater number of their dependants. I invite your attention to a very recent public appeal made by the secretary of the Muslim League Sindh with regard to the pressing need of monetary help for those who are arrested in connection with (Manzilgah) Sukkar riots. Sayyed Ali Mohammad Secretary says:—

“There are altogether 1,800 Musalmans who are being prosecuted in different cases. Those who are shut in the four walls of jail have left behind them starving families, women and children and have no clothes to wear. Up to this time several Moham-

madans have been given capital sentences and some other were given long term imprisonment. I appeal to all Musalmans in the name of those starving women and children to send as much help as they can."

As a visitor of the Punjab jails I was informed of many cases of the Muslim rioters with very long sentences whose women and childrens were starving and there was none to look after them. The Muslim masses are poverty stricken and unorganised. Classes are careless and callous. In spite of all those miseries Muslim masses will continue to be furious and riotous because they are treated as aliens in thier own country. Our first need is that Hindus should take upon themselves the duty of forming a strong organisation to combat those who consider Musalmans as untouchables. If a Mohammadan organisation will take up this duty it will futher embitter the feelings. In the year 1925 Majlas-i-Ahrar workers who

then formed the Punjab Khilafat Committee took to preaching against the treatment of Hindus. Hindus resented such preaching. Government threatened to take action against those who were in any way connected with this agitation. This taint of untouchability is to be removed somehow or other from the Muslims. If Hindus condemn their co-religionists, it will pave the way of Hindu Muslim unity; and if any Muslim organisation will take up this agitation, Hindus will resent such attitude on the part of the Muslims. When Seva Samiti was formed Mohammadans were very glad that this organisation will help the Musalman in raising its voice against the treatment of Hindus. But to their utter dismay and disappointment this organisation devised new instruments of humiliating Musalmans. Seva Samiti volunteers offered water to Hindus in glasses and for thirsty Musalman and scavengers they used a hollow bamboo pipe. They pour in water at one end and it comes out

from the other end of the pipe. By this contrivance Hindu Volunteers are saved from the polluting touch of the Musalmans and Shudras. They give water and take away self-respect. This service resulted in more hatred. In spite of bamboo being a non-conductor, if the hand of an impure Musalman touched the pipe in the course of gulping down water he was taken to task. Such pipes were generally used for pouring down country medicines in the throats of cows and buffaloes in our villages. Forty years ago no Muslim was employed as a water man throughout India on railway stations. Even the Muslims of high houses were humiliated by Hindu watermen. Mohammadans have now pressed upon the railway authorities the desirability of making separate water arrangements for Musalmans. Hindu water and Muslim water is echoed at every station at the arrival and departure of every train. This is a standing contradiction of the one-nation theory. If there is any true nationalist

amongst the Hindus it is his duty to encourage all silent voices amongst the Musalmans whose brains are not yet deadened and who loathe the treatment of Hindus. If Hindus encourage Musalmans, there will be peace and goodwill reigning in the country. If Mohammadans are left to themselves to remedy the state of affairs, there will be chaos and confusion in India. Everybody will admit that the present state of affairs should not be long allowed to continue. Some Hindu organisation should come forward with the sole object of preaching for better social treatment of the Musalmans. On account of humiliating social treatment of Hindus I see Musalmans journeying into a new life. This would be the end of our political aspirations. Mohammadans are very hard pressed by the social and economical boycott of the Hindus and they are going through deep waters to-day. As a counter move they are developing the boycott spirit in them. Though it is no easy matter to

bycott those who are financially better and this task is beset with difficulties, but they have become desperate. They are already left to fry in summer and freeze in winter and the social treatment of their Hindu countrymen is still very exasperating. A gifted orator like Atta Ullah Shah could not rouse Muslims to patriotic action because they see that inspite of the fact that the same mother India bears them, nourishes them, they are considered untouchables by those who expect them to shed their blood for the common cause. So a Muslim thinks that his home is the earth and the world is his fatherland, political problems of India are outside his sphere and he has no right to approach them in the light of one nationhood until the social and economical tangle is straightened out.

4.—LANGUAGE.

A common language is the first ingredient of a nation. In this respect we are very unfortunate. There are dozens of language groups in this country. Hindus and Muslims break each other's head over the rival claims of Hindi and Urdu. Our spoken language in Upper India is Hindustani, which is understandable by every inhabitant of that part of the country but the written language is Persianised Urdu and Sanskritised Hindi. A great battle is raging round this question which tends to widen the gulf between the two communities more and more. The beauty of a language consists in spoken and written languages being one and the same but the hysteric attempt to make Hindustani look like Persian or Sanskrit is making the question of language a rather difficult affair. Urdu as its

name indicates was the honest attempt on the part of both Hindus and Mohammadans to evolve a common language for the whole people of this country. Urdu assimilated all the appropriate words of Sanskrit, Persian, Punjabi, Arabic and English. As the communal struggle went on unabated the Hindus naturally wanted Hindi to be made the medium of instruction. In the Moghul period Persian was the court language. In the British Raj Persian yielded place to the English and Urdu languages. Musalmans still think that they evolved Urdu as a common language and that the Hindus' claim about Hindi is only a spoke in the wheel. Hindus feel that it is their natural right to popularize *Hindi*. So they close with each other and are ready to break each other's neck. Some times before the partition of Bengal, Behar Government raised the question of Urdu and Hindi. The action of the Behar Govt. preyed on the mind of Musalmans. After the partition of Bengal, agitation in favour

of Punjabi was started in the Punjab as a medium of instruction. Hindus took interest against Urdu and from their attitude Muslims concluded that they were paying off old scores. The Muslims laid great stress on the adoption of Urdu as a lingua franca for the whole country; the more they stressed the more the Hindus resented; and in a few years time Hindus discarded Urdu and began to popularise Hindi with a vengeance. Hindus with comparatively vast financial resources enriched the Hindi literature within a few years. In the natural course, though Urdu is still the popularly spoken language, Hindi as the written language has stolen a march over Urdu and Urdu is now lagging behind Hindi because of Hindu capitalists and politicians. Congress Governments and film industry have given impetus to it. Moham-madans who follow the policy of 'spend and God will send' are left to mourn like a poor passenger who cannot afford to buy a ticket for an out going train and sets out

on foot to reach the destination. Young Muslim authors who express themselves in Urdu do not lack the qualities of head and heart but cannot make a living and they are soon fed up with this thankless task. Munshi Prem Chānd, a great story writer, is an outstanding example of this. He began his stories in Urdu. In spite of being highly popular he could not manage to make both ends meet. But when he began to write in Hindi he was well off after a few years. The most popular book in Urdu is purchased in hundreds only but a Hindi book is purchased in thousands because Hindu Public can afford to do so and Musalmāns generally borrow books or make use of the libraries. A poverty stricken Community however gay cannot produce good literature ; because it is the result of long and patient study of a subject and that cannot be pursued without encouragement and patronage. There are so many Urdu writers. Every subject they touch turns to a story under their hands but poverty reduced them

to skeletons on account of their fault of being Urdu writers.

It is an hysteric attempt to thrust Urdu on Hindu citizens. They are not favourably inclined towards it. They have every right to preserve that language which they love. Poor people have always poor literature; rich people cannot be made to cast off their own rich literature. There are certain Muslims who accept two nation theory and still expect Hindus to adopt Urdu language. Congress attempt to make Hindustani as *lingua franca* should be welcomed by Musalmans but it must be clearly understood that this Hindustani must naturally be Sanskritised Hindustani. Mohammadans are no doubt lovers of high literature but on economic and political grounds they cannot make Urdu a popular language. I know that Hindu politicians from the core of their heart wish to settle the language question once for all, but it is a very intricate question and

cannot be settled in a decade. Too much insistence on Urdu is an outcome of a social disease. Mohammadans and Hindus both live in watertight compartments. Therefore they cannot be expected satisfactorily to evolve a common language unless and until their social relations are much improved. Urdu was built on the ruins of Persian and Arabic with Indian national and united Hindu-Muslim efforts. But very soon it became the language of the untouchables and unworthy of Hindu use. Hence any attempt to make Urdu a lingua franca would be futile. Hindi is also the language of kafir and a believer would not learn it. Every Hindu and Musalman should try to know both scripts Hindi and Urdu. This does not mean that we will be able thus to evolve a common language soon. Continuous suggestion by marching and drilling leads a regiment to a rigid uniformity of action; common language leads to a rigid uniformity of a nation in its thinking. But this uniformity of

thought and action is essentially based on social and political unity which is absent in the case of India. A German who reads the French language does not begin to think as a Frenchman, because their politics are different. We Hindus and Musalmans not only have our respective historic back grounds different, even socially we consider each other untouchables. So every rule becomes exception in our case and the situation becomes puzzling. Our social prejudices do not only make our politics complicated but they make our whole life a hell and make the question of a lingua franca for the whole of India a knotty problem. No one is ready to give way, therefore no satisfactory solution is possible. Every attempt to evolve a common language will be met with opposition because we are living as enemies. Those who wish well of the country and want peace they can only help this cause by learning both scripts. In my weak condition of health and old age I have now learnt to read the

Hindi Primary Readers. Though I like Urdu language very much yet a peep into Hindi is delightful.

There is another complication—that of provincial languages. Though Punjabi is not understood even in the whole of the province, yet its claim to be the medium of instruction is put forward by the Sikh Community. Urdu is in fact polished Punjabi but Sikhs are not contented with Urdu. They do not even like Hindi. They have evolved a script of their own out of Hindi. So there are not only dialects of one language but languages within language in this country. One language could be a factor in keeping all the people of India together but our responsible leaders daily fall out on this question. All honest attempts of the congress leaders have been foiled in solving the question of the language. Unless the malady of untouchability is removed and people begin to live like brothers they will not be able to evolve a

common language. Hindu masses are very tough in all things that give them superiority over the Muslim masses. When there is a section of Hindu politicians who are eager to see Hindus and Muslims living as brothers there is another section that day and night works for the continuance of the old order. I had an occasion to visit the office of a Hindu trust. While sitting to wait for the manager, I saw a library adjacent to the office where some gentlemen were reading newspapers and some others were taking notes from certain books. Instead of waiting outside I thought it fit to read some papers in the library. No sooner did I enter the room than all eyes were turned on me. They looked astonished and perplexed. Almost all of them who were reading or writing ceased to do their work and began to look at my face and the faces of one another. It at once flashed across my mind that I was not wanted there; but why? Suddenly I saw at boards hanging on every wall with

inscriptions in bold letters. **FOR HINDUS ONLY.** I am told that it was the life mission of the Hindu philanthropist to keep the superiority complex in Hindus intact. This trust is perhaps the biggest in India. With such exclusive training of the mind still going on, no one can hope to solve the language question over night. Let us wait and see how almighty God orders our destiny after this world war.

5.—POLITICS.

Hindus are socially intolerent but politically their leaders are far sighted and broad-minded. They are a little hesitating no doubt but not incorrigible and unprogressive. They will give a patient hearing to every proposal and will try to find a way out of the difficulty. Politically they are quite sincere and try their level best to act as nationalists. They only deviate under the great pressure of their masses, otherwise in the natural course of things they are prepared to go to great lengths to oblige the Muslim community. There would have been more breaking of heads than hitherto but the sufferings endured by these Hindus for country's cause have melted the heart of even those Musalmans who have their natural abhorance of Hindus because of their unbearable social treatment. These Hindu leaders attracted

the noblest amongst the Muslims. The flower of the Hindu and Muslim communities in the Congress organisation have suffered much in their attempt to blend the two peoples into one nation. But their efforts have not so far been crowned with success, why? Because they did not proceed with the country's problem scientifically.

The Lucknow pact of 1916 is a proof, if any proof is needed, of the fact that Hindu leaders on their own accord conceded separate electorates and thus bridged the gulf that had been created by laying the foundation of the Muslim League. This move on the part of Hindu leaders brought Hindus and Muslims of upper classes closer to each other. Though Hindus and Muslims are still a separate people yet it was feared by the Government that they can sit together and speak with one voice. It added to the prestige of the country.

Hindus of the Mahasabha mentality believe that separate electorates are the

root cause of the present strife but even before that attempt we were living as alien people always ready to fly at each other's throats. We have yet to produce that resourceful man who will be able to fuse various prejudices into one creative drive. Politics is the art of doing what is possible under the circumstances to the best of one's ability. I recognise the nobility of soul of the congress leaders who never gave way to despair and always doggedly tried to find ways and means to adjust all quarrels.

As a natural corollary to the new reforms Mohammadans wanted to make up the deficiency in different services but it was resented by the Hindu educated community who held the sole monopoly of some of the services. Since the year 1922 every Government office became the propaganda centre for broadcasting the message of hate. Hindu and Muslim press bitterly attacked each other. There were

riots and breaking of heads. Hindus and Musalmans who had come nearer to embrace each other began once more to take leave of each other as if for ever. Congress leadership was alarmed. Mr. Das, the great leader of Bengal, notified his intention to allot 60 per cent of the public services in those districts and Municipal Boards where Mohammadans formed a majority. He actually raised the percentage of Musalmans in Calcutta corporation. Maha Sahba leaders raised a storm of protest against him, but he steered his ship through this storm until his valuable life was cut short by heart trouble. Mr. Sirinavasa Iyenger, President of the Congress in 1926 together with other Hindu leaders, thought that the cause of Hindu Muslim trouble was political. Hence he wanted to know what could be the Muslim demands in the case of Purna Swaraj. Muslim leaders including the late Moulana Mohd Ali and Mr. Jinnah met in Delhi and formulated very moderate proposals to be included in the

Hindu-Muslim pact. They demanded reservations of seats according to population based on joint electorates. It is curious that even this proportion did not find favour with some of the Hindu Sabha leaders and consideration of it was postponed. A unity conference was called a year later to further discuss the matter.

At a number of these conferences I saw, that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah tried his level best to come to an agreement with Hindus but his efforts were not crowned with success because of a Hindu gentleman of renown who was afterwards taken as a member of the Congress working committee. Mr. Jinnah from the very beginning of his political career was a staunch supporter of joint electorates, and a great advocate of one-nation theory. But that Hindu gentleman left no stone unturned to exasperate Mr. Jinnah in the unity conference. The Muslim League was split into two parts. One section led by Mr. Jinnah

and supported by the late Moulana Mohd. Ali, Shoukat Ali, Dr. Ansari and other nationalist leaders held Muslim League session in Calcutta and the other section led by Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Mian Sir Shafi held their session in Lahore. The former had the good wishes of the Hindu leaders and the latter had the backing of the British Government. One advocated joint electorates and the other demanded rights on the basis of separate electorates. Congress leaders were very anxious to offer a common front against British Imperialism. So in their anxiety to do so they called an all-party conference to be held in Lucknow to consider a new pact on the basis of the Nehru report. Mohammadan politicians were anxious to secure the support of Hindus for the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency. Hindu Sabha leaders opposed the proposal tooth and nail but congress spokesmen of Sind brought to light strange facts which go to show that our political

policies change with the wind. A Hindu congressman informed the conference that a few years ago the Hindu communalists demanded the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency and Muslim communalists were opposing this proposal. But now the position is reversed. This is how prejudice works. Congress leaders were satisfied that there was no fundamental difference between the claims of the different communities. Nehru Report tried its best to dissipate fear from the hearts of the Musalmans. The case of the Punjab always presented a difficulty because of the fact that there is triangular counterstrife. The Hindus and Sikhs want a greater share than is justified by their strength in services and Municipal Boards and Legislative Assembly and the Muslims like to retain their bare majority; hence an adjustment becomes impossible. In the conference every province was eager to adjust its differences in the best spirit, but the Punjab was making a very poor show of its talents and tole-

rance. At last in a sub-committee which was attended by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. P. Mori Lal, Pandit Madan Mohan Malvi Moulana Azad, Sarojani Naido, Lala Lajpat Rai and other warring elements of the Punjab were made to accept joint electorates, Sikhs were the first to declare their acceptance. Mohammadans willy nilly acceded to the wishes of the leaders. However the Congress, Khilafat and Akali workers signed the Punjab Pact. But to our astonishment, that very day the Sikhs began to show their misgivings, the next day they mildly protested and the day after they clamoured against the pact. It added more to our astonishment when we saw the whole Hindu press supporting the Sikhs. The Sikhs always allowed themselves to be used as pawns in all political games of the Hindu communalists and even some Congress Hindus have a soft heart for Sikhs. Both Mahatamaji and Pandit Malviya supported the Sikhs in their protest against the Punjab Pact. Sikhs now de-

manded that their seats should be fixed according to population and they should be further allowed to contest any number of seats in the Punjab under the scheme of joint electorates. Mohammadans had already a bare majority in the province; they could not be a party to this arrangement. Moreover joint electorates were never favoured by the Muslim masses. Those who signed the Punjab pact amongst the Muslims became the target and Muslim Communalist fiercely attacked them. Khilafat workers who were the signatories of the pact were in very deep waters in those days. But they continued propaganda in favour of the original Punjab pact. But Congress withdrew the Nehru Report and Punjab pact *ipso facto* went with it. This must be noted that Mr. Jinnah favouring the joint electorates wanted some minor changes in the Nehru Report but Mahatamaji did not yield. However after the Nehru Report had been thrown in the river Ravi Khilafatist Musalmans continued to favour joint elec-

torates but it was unimagined even by the most imaginative among them, that Dr. Ansari in his Faridpore speech would make overtures to Sikhs on the bases of their new claim. But the Muslim nationalist workers did not find their backs equal to this burden and they gave way forming a new organisation called Majlis-i-Ahrar. Hindu leaders did not lose heart and continued their search for a common formula satisfactory to all. Mahatama Gandhi joined the Round Table Conference and Muslims were ready to accept the joint electorates but Sikhs again confused the issue by making extravagant claims. Mahatama Gandhi as the sole representative of the Congress could not take his courage in his both hands and rebuke the Sikhs for their immoderate demands. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was asked to give an award on the claims of different communities. Unfortunately the award of the Premier was a bolt from the blue for non-Muslim politicians, and the Sikhs threatened blood-

shed. An other unity conference was called but it also ended in smoke. It may again be noted that Mr. Jinnah was dropped out of the picture in the Second Round Table Conference because he was a staunch supporter of one nationhood and an advocate of joint electorates. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was a shrewd politician; news mongers said that he was responsible for the great mischief done to the country's cause. He was a moderate leader therefore a practical man. Communities and people he was used to say "seldom relinquish the advantage over other Communities and people hence there is the necessity of hard fight for our rights in this country." After the communal award he was quite satisfied. Now he was anxious to come to terms with Hindus and Sikhs on the basis of joint electorates. He and Sir Joginder Singh agreed to a formula based on joint electorates but both Sikh and Hindu leaders turned it down. When we accepted the Punjab Pact on the basis of joint electorates

he said that our scheme of joint electorates was not disastrous for Muslims but he feared that Hindus and Sikhs could oppose us tooth and nail. Perhaps knowing this weakness of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab he himself evolved a formula based on joint electorates to be finally rejected. He was sure as the sun in the heavens that Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs feared that they would be worse off under the scheme of joint electorates and therefore were not going to accept it easily. However Mohammadans under the communal award were given more than they expected and Mian Fazal-i-Hussain was in a position to show magnanimity towards other communities though only outwardly. Multan jail barracks were full of provincial and district office-bearers of the Congress and Ahrar when one morning the news of the award was brought in. Mohammadans were jubilant and Hindus felt blue. Outside, the Sikhs threatened bloodshed in the province and took oaths before Guru Granth Sahib to revolt against

the communal award. But Congress High Command kept its head cool and did not try to disturb the communal peace. Congress accepted the award as the last resort because there was no way out of it. Congress accepted the ministries under the award and the long headed Congress Governments did their level best to hold the scales of justice even in trying circumstances. Human agencies are not without fault but the defects of Congress ministries were allowed to obscure their good features. At one time the League spokesmen and press made much of the police firings on Khaksars in the United Provinces. Even a reasonable person amongst the Muslim Community pulled a very long face because of this incident and the League M. L. A's. set their face against Pandit Pant, the U. P. premier. The Muslim Masses were made to believe that by suppression of the Khaksars, the Congress wanted to break the spirit of resistance in the Muslim Community. Khaksar day was celebrated. Muslim papers brought

out "Khaksar Numbers." Now Sir Sikandar's Government in this province is obliged to do the same thing with vengeance. Firings and prosecutions are of daily occurrence. League is patiently looking at the bloody drama. No one can now dare say that the Unionist Government with a Muslim League at its head is breaking the backbone of the Community. The protest of the Muslim press, if it ever protests at all, sounds like an appeal which falls on deaf ears. You will tremble at the thought of the state of affairs if a similar Khaksar massacre had taken place anywhere under a Congress Government. Khaksars had a good time in U. P. Jails. They were treated as if they were state prisoners. But now in the Punjab Jails they are being treated as ordinary criminals and batches of them are tendering apology.

Inspite of Communal award, League Leaders now claim the partition of India into two parts. They are dead sure of the

support of Muslim Masses in any extravagant claim. Muslim Masses will be ever ready to pay with their lives because as neighbours they are not satisfied with Hindu dealings. As a money lender he treats his Muslim client harshly and as a countryman he considers him impure. Hence Muslim Masses want perpetual strife with Hindus. They cannot appreciate the generous move on the part of the Congress Leaders. They look through the coloured spectacles on every move of the Hindu politicians because in daily life they do not find an iota of generosity in any Hindu. Yes! they want revenge for the day to day treatment. They look upon him as their saviour who goads them to continue the strife and they look down upon the prince of peace as a traitor to the cause of the Community. "Towards animals in distress," they say, "Hindus are willing to extend their helping hand but for human being in distress, if he is a Mohammadan, they have little pity".

Treating the Muslims as impure and

unclean is becoming unbearable day by day. Once a people begins to feel the indignity and insult they can be goaded by clever persons into any fanatical act. There lies the secret of a communalist's success and failure of those who preach Hindu—Muslim unity. The voices that were silent before are now encouraged; Muslims are now learning the art of speaking as they feel it. One of the ultra-nationalist Muslim workers confined in this jail said that enemies within the gates are not so badly treated as Musalmans in this country. Here are some German aliens confined in this jail, our Superintendent, a British Military Officer, has no hesitation in dining with them. But we people, who live in a country and are a subject race, treat each other worse than enemies. This state of affairs ought to set every Congressman a thinking. But Congress programme is naive if not primitive. They formed mass contact committees—lifeless bodies. They defeated their end very soon because Hindu fears Muslim

contact and the Congress is mum on this subject and does not try to expel prejudices from the Hindu mind. Congress has Achut Udhar programme but it has no reference to the treatment of the Musalman. At least I have not heard any congressman condemning Hindus of their treatment with Musalmans. This four—anna membership is no contact with the Muslim Masses. If Hindu members of the Congress are ordered by Gandhiji to dine with Musalmans, I am sure 95 per cent. of them will leave Congress. What do they mean by Muslim Mass contact when the very touch of a Muslim Congressman makes his brother Hindu Congressman unclean. Mass contact looks like hypocrisy, a mere dectet and a fraud.

A Hindu young friend who is serving his term with us told me of his exprience which points to a moral. He with other Congress workers went to the villages to enroll members and address meetings.

Mohammadans as usual gave the cold shoulder to them. Feeling thirsty he entered a Muslim house where an old lady was sitting. She asked him who he was. He replied that he was a Brahman. "Hindus never use any thing touched by Muslims" she said. "Mother, I am not one of those I stand for unity," he said. "You will succeed in your mission; those who treat Muslims as untouchables cannot," said I.

Every Hindu patriot who wishes well of the country should himself study this subject. I assure them all when Muslim masses see a Muslim nationalist fighting shoulder to shoulder with a Hindu nationalist they at once jump to the conclusion that this man betrayed Islam for a mess of pottage for himself.

Hindus stand arraigned before the tribunal of history and humanity for treading upon the necks of their own countrymen. Polluting power of a dog and a

lizzard is not as great as that of a Musalman and a Shudra. Some Hindus, I am glad, are paying some attention towards the uplift of the untouchables other than Musalmans because Mahasabha politicians want numerical preponderance to fight constitutional battles and if need be, to arrange them against Musalmans. But without a change of heart they will not be helpful to Shudras and will never be immune from danger. Caste prejudices are the outcome of blind stupidity, incapable of recognising the dignity of humanity. If once it is recognised India will become the heaven of peace. Will Congress politicians muster sufficient courage to fight on the side of Musalmans in eradicating the evil of untouchability? Sometimes I fall a prey to misgivings even about Congress friends when I see them crying hoarse against the treatment of Shudras and never speaking a word against the treatment the Hindus meted out to Musalmans. Are they not inwardly feeling proud at this treatment?

Do they not want to continue this state of affairs? I console myself with the idea that the political awakening of Muslims will come to their help. Then what about the theory of one nationhood in India? One nationhood is a stunt of a few politicians, it has no significance so far as Hindus and Musalmans are concerned. Some say that a race is springing up which will soon revolutionise the mentality of the people and blend them into one nation. I say amen to it but I am not very optimistic. New times will not come soon. Age long disease cannot be eradicated in a decade or two. There are still people in the Congress fold who justify untouchability. They say it is hygienic. I have seen some prominent men connected with the Congress holding the glass of water high in the air and turning their faces to the sky they stand with open mouths, pour water into their mouths and gulp it down the throats in a very artistic way. Yes, it is hygienic, they say. It is maniac, say I

Judge for yourself who is right. I have been with Malviaji in Dehli Jail. He was kind and considerate but awfully tough a Brahman. What to speak of a Musalman he would not like to see even the shadow of a Hindu in his dining place. President Patel was a very jolly fellow. He knew the weakness of Pandatji and was used to visit him just at the time of his meals. Patel used to stand before the sun in such a position that his shadow was cast on Malviaji. This otherwise sane Brahman would jump out of the choka like an enraged child. What is the matter Pandatji? President Patel would ask.

How suffocating the atmosphere of the Hindu society is for a Musalman? No Hindu can dream of. Unless we lay low the demon of untouchability, India, the paradise on earth will continue to be a hell on account of communal strife. We must cease to employ the language of hypocrisy and frankly admit that so long as untouchability lives, Hindus and Muslims

cannot cultivate any social ties. I know that an attempt is being made to make chattels of the Musalmans, and uplift the Shudras only, and then dominate India. Unfortunately some Hindus have reached that stage in emotional stress when logical arguments cease to sway decisions, but I am sure that better sense will prevail some day in the country, though that day seems very remote. I as a Musalman gratefully appreciate the enthusiasm of Congress politicians to come to an understanding with the Muslims. But no political move will be crowned with success unless the social ban is lifted from the Mohammadans. As I have already stated Muslims badly feel the pinch of untouchability and social boycott by the Hindus. They will embrace every opportunity to pick up a quarrel with the Hindus because life is not after their heart on account of the treatment meted out to them. Mr. Jinnah is the apple of their eyes so long as he promises to fight against those who have kept them down.

No sooner he comes to terms with Hindus, than he will be cried down as a traitor. The secret of leadership of the Muslim Masses lies in goading them to constant strife with Hindus. A life of poverty and ill treatment at the hands of Hindus has made them desperate. They want to answer back injury for insult. Who does not know that poverty and ill-treatment belittle the mind and corrupt the spirit? Mohammadans think that Hindus are responsible for their woes. This is why they one day cheer a man to the echo but the next day when they find him friendly disposed towards Hindus, they despise him.

6.—THREE NATIONS

(1)

A touch-me—not spirit pervades the atmosphere of this country; nationalism cannot survive in this climate. A needle in the haystack can be found but elements of nationalism cannot be traced in the Indian masses. It so seems that it is the common chain of slavery that binds them together otherwise there is no moral force to keep them united. One can well insinuate that Mr. Jinnah and I are of the same coin and do not wish well of this country and its people. Please yourself and think as you like but truth is truth and must be told so that the realities may awaken the politicians to the danger facing the country. Our salvation does not lie in the theory of one nationhood or two. Why do we eulogize nationalism? It is as much a curse as communalism. Both nationalism

and communalism dwarf the mind, and make us bigots and blind. Lust for dominance and sense of superiority are the offsprings of nationalism. Nationhood goes before and pride follows after it. What is this untouchability and this caste system? This is pride lifted to the level of religious fanaticism. "My country, my community, my caste, right or wrong" are the products of narrow civilization which is now leading bee and strife. This modern departmentalism must end in smoke. But I don't want to make internationalism a cloak for inaction or a shield to be thrown over foreign dominations. Charity must begin at home, but it does not mean that I must conspire against a remote neighbour or try to cultivate a superiority complex in relation to the people who happen to be nearby. Nationalism has dragged the weak nations in the mire of humiliation. This exaggerated spirit of nationalism is responsible for untouchability in India. Nationalist Germany is a stride, a mountain

of skulls and bones. The more I ponder on the treatment of shudras the more I am convinced that of all the sinners the Hindu is the chief. Musalman comes next. We Ahrars are not fighting for nationalism but for internationalism. In us is awakened a conscience which feels a responsibility for poverty and misfortune not of Indian people but of humanity as a whole. Communalism, Nationalism and Caste System are the names of social and political diseases, they can only be remedied by sympathy, we have to do the duty that lies nearest to us. Hence we are mainly devoted to the political emancipation of the Indian people. I don't think that Indians are one people, still I feel called upon to serve Hindus and Muslims alike because they are my neighbours and living under the same political conditions. But for Shudras I have great mercy and sympathy. Don't try to convince me that Indian people are one nation. Nationalism is departmentalism; nevertheless it denotes a

wider group of people thinking alike and living like brothers. But in India virulent Individualism in fact rules the day. Every body wishes to treat others as under dogs. There is no ordered system of ideas. There is no national pride but caste prejudices. still people have audacity to say that Indians are one nation. Mere geographical conditions do not constitute a nation. There are three nations in India the pure—Hindus; the impure—Shudras; midway between them stand Muslims. A noble fear of seeming unpatriotic makes some hesitate to speak their whole mind on the subject. It is no doubt realised by all who have the capacity to weigh up facts and form a sound judgement of the present situation that there are not two but three nations in India—Hindus, Musalmans and Shudras. It is no good burking the fact that age old prejudices cannot be shaken off in a few years. The day of one nationhood may dawn on India, but we have no right to expect its dawn soon because we have

not made any serious attempt to attain social unity. Social unity is a fact precedent to national harmony. Should we pray for a violent revolution that may destroy the social structure of India and bury the time old prejudices for ever. Here lies our salvation, otherwise by evolutionary methods success cannot be achieved even within a reasonable period and we will continue to be divided in three separate groups—Hindus, Musalmans and Shudras. This prayed for revolution must necessarily be based on economic justice otherwise the rich will continue to have the upper hand and turn the poor round their fingers as usual.

If social and economic reform is to progress at present at a snail's pace then it must be noted that India's ills are not due to religion but due to the touch-me-not spirit of a great section of the Indian people. The present religion professed by the common Musalman is not the religion of

the Prophet but is that religion which was evolved by Emperor Akbar in consultation with his Hindu advisers. In essence and spirit it is Sanatan Dharma, the only difference seems to be that in the case of Muslims, sentiment centres round the Prophet and Hindus devote their prayers to Rama and Krishna. Some Hindu friends wrongly imagine that Musalmans are essentially a religious community and are influenced by religious people more than other communities. On the contrary I see that Hindu masses are led by religious people. Mahasabha section is led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviaji and Congress section is led by Mahatama Gandhi; both the gentlemen are essentially religious. There must be something wrong in his upper story who thinks that Mr. Jinnah is a religious man. So religion has no hold on Muslims. They are bigotted against Hindus not because of religous motive but on account of social and economic bycott by the Hindus which has laid them prostrate.

(2)

If Indian people do not form one nationhood they lose nothing if they learn to live peacefully, they would gain every thing. Different history, different social customs, even different languages should not mar our progress. I know that caste prejudices and untouchability are not to be remedied soon but their catastrophic results can be avoided. If Musalmans instead of expecting every Hindu to treat them socially equal, inculcate the spirit of responsive cooperation in their community the situation will be eased within a few years. Instead of bycotting the Hindus as a community and treating them as impure and unclean, they should try to pay only the arrogant Hindus in the same coins. Musalmans should not refuse to dine with those who do not treat them as untouchables. This will have a wholesome effect on the relations of both the communities. The number of those who believe in interdining will steadily increase and

Mohammadans will have hope for the future and their dignity saved for the present. I know some of our Hindu brethren instead of being ashamed of their treatment towards Musalmans will dub them as bigots and communalists but we must patiently endure it. These defensive tactics will not disturb the peace of the country. This must be clearly borne in mind that we are adopting a line of temporary politics in order to be immune from the evil effect of untouchability. For Shudras I venture to prescribe the same medicine. But they are half dead. We Hindus and Muslims have taken life out of them. I have already advised them to take bold steps but to whom my advise is directed? To Shudras. We have crushed their soul so much that they are now unable to hate and take revenge. By granting them separte electorates British Government wanted to resurrect them though to serve their own purpose, but fate decided otherwise. Poor people will not be able to stand

on their own feet for a long time to come without the aid of any friendly arm and that aid will not come soon, I am sure. Both Hindus and Mohammadans are still tough against them. Mohammadans, I am sorry to say, feel their own shoe when it pinches and do not feel the tight boot of Shudras. Poverty is hard but untouchability is horrible. We along with Hindus have made their lot hard and horrible. How keen and impatient the Mohammadans are to remove the taint of untouchability from themselves but they are not half as earnest to remove this taint from the Shudras. If Muslims do not resent to be bracketed with Shudras I will advise them to make common cause with them. First extend a helping hand towards Shudras and embark on the scheme of responsive cooperation with Hindus; so that we may be able to live in peace in this country. Unless the international spirit, in other words the humanitarian spirit, pervades in the Hindu society, Muslim and Shudra

must take a defensive line of action in order to be safe from the evil effects of untouchability. No doubt politically all people of India have to sink and swim together, but Hindus have given rein to their prejudices and claim not only a mental or moral superiority over others but consider others as unclean and impure. A Politician is he who is a past master in the art of delay. Indian politicians are unwilling to take up in right earnest the cause of those who are considered untouchables. A man of true feelings fires up naturally to see the treatment meted out to Musalmans by the Hindus, and to Shudras both by Hindus and Musalmans. Let not the silence of Musalmans and Shudras give consent to untouchability. The communities affected should leave no stone unturned to change their lot as soon as possible. All people are the architects of their own fortune. We must tell frankly those who ill treat others that the cup of patience has run over. Mend yourself or

we ourselves will end untouchability by resorting to responsive co-operation. This must be clearly borne in mind that social uplift cannot be derived by missionary work of the Congress leaders only; untouchables should also exert themselves to get out of this situation. Unless all people in India attain equal social status their political future will remain gloomy. It is a part of patriotism to resort to non-violent non-cooperations with those who think themselves high born and look upon others as untouchables. No sooner they come to their senses and relinquish their arrogance it is our duty to lift the ban from them at once. Mohammadans are in a position to start this responsive co-operation with Hindus. They will become very strong in a few years time and they will never find reason to fight with Hindus, as at present. Their present strife is absolutely social and economic and not religious or political. It is therefore right to remove the disease by starting responsive co-operation. That

is to say by continuing to dine with those who have no objection to dine with you but refusing to take any eatable from the hands of those who consider you impure and unclean. All political struggles end in Hindu Muslim roits because Hindus and Muslims are not socially united. They will become friends in a short space of time provided Mohammadans act upon my advice or Hindus banish the idea of treating others as untouchables. Responsive co-operation is an easy affair, but it is expecting too much from the Hindus to give up that habit which has become their second nature.

Untouchability is a utilitarian superstition. This mould of thought is very valuable for those who practice it. It dries up the main artery of economic prosperity of those who are considered impure and unclean. The touchables will seldom buy anything from those who are considered untouchables. Hence they condemn them

to economic stagnation by refusing to trade with them. The prejudices of the high caste Hindus are very well considered. They never question whether ghee is touched by Musalmans or Shudras. Milk, so long as it is not boiled, is pure to the Hindu even if it is touched by a Shudra. So there is method in their madness. Ingenuity of the touchables was ever on the rack to keep down others without much inconvenience to themselves. By treating others as untouchables immaterial advantages of the Hindus increased with the passing of time; even Mohammadans were hard put to maintain an equality with them. Unless Mohammadans and Shudras devise some method to combat the evil ingenuity and the utilitarian prejudices of those Hindus, they will go to the dogs. Responsive co-operation is the only effective weapon to combat those who refuse to treat their countrymen as their equals. In a few years Mohammadans have made a marked progress in the field of politics,

but they still require much to do in the field of economics. I cannot advise Muslims to cultivate in their mind the love for money. They should attempt to create a new world order based on economic justice. By bettering the lot of all the people in India we can better our own lot. Muslim young men should at once join those bodies that aim at a better social order. If Mohammadans gird up their loins and at once start responsive co-operation and also make up their mind to join hands with those who want to change the old economic order by peaceful methods, then and only then peace will reign in the country and this earth will become heaven for us all. Hindus are not bad people. They are peace loving and sympathetic. If once they are forced to give up the superstition of untouchability they are sure to prove good neighbours. This certificate to Hindus will lash some of the Muslims to fury who think that Hindu is incapable of giving up narrow ideologies and they further say that their

interest cannot be safe in the keeping of those whose gains consist in the percentage of our losses and who have themselves held off all these years from cultivating our friendships. I am not a pessimist. I still believe that old world order will yeild place to new. Social outlook of Hindus will naturally be widened but we must play our part to bring that day near. Popularity of Pakistan scheme rests mainly on the treatment of Hindus, if once the Hindu is reformed no one will hear of Pakistan in this country.

There are certain Ulema who take exception to this Pakistan scheme because they think that it would narrow down their field of activity as missionaries. Muslims will hesitate to attach much value to it because up to this time their missionary zeal was zero, not one percent of them treated their house sweepers as human beings, what to speak of delivering the message of Islam throughout the length

and breadth of the country. Mohammadans openly declare that all their woes are dark fruit of untouchability practised by Hindus and unfair dealings of the cunning money lenders who belong to the same class. They are ready to play even in the hand of imperialism if they are given hope to be saved from the man-made sufferings. British imperialism is not as bad as the humiliating treatment of our country men. Hindus may laugh scornfully at this unpatriotic idea. But untouchability is the very negation of patriotism. Those of our country men who have no feeling, no emotion outside their job of money making cannot appreciate the point of view of the poor Muslims. Those good hearted Muslim theologians who put forward the plea of propagation of Islam against the Pakistan scheme seem to belong to the upper strata of society and consequently fail to feel the pulse of the masses who suffer daily indignities at the hands of the Hindus. If Muslim League is not merely shaking the

tree in the hope of making some fine fruit fall and Hindus continue the same treatment with Musalmans, then Pakistan ought to be considered as an accomplished fact. Either the cowardice of Muslim League leaders or change of heart of the high born Hindus can now alter the Pakistan situation.

There are some other well meaning gentlemen in the Muslim Community who feel that Pakistan scheme is financially unsound. To carry Government with a deficit budget is an impossible affair. But if the top heavy services are dispensed with and there is a will to work, no country in the world is such whose finances are insufficient to carry on the simple machinery of the Government. If the conditions under which a community is made to live are suffocating it is but natural that it will leave no stone unturned to find a breathing space without having regard to other inconveniences. Life is not worth living under

humiliating conditions. Mohammadans will naturally choose to rule in the hell of Pakistan than to serve in the heaven of Hindustan.

Under the unitary system of Government and with present social and economical order Mohammadans will surely sink down soon to the depth of Shudras. If the present social and economic order is to continue for a long time to come then the Pakistan scheme will serve the purpose of Musalmans more than the unitary form of Government. When discussing the scheme embodied in the Nehru report, I on behalf of those friend who now form the Ahrar group, made it clear in the General Meeting of the All Parties Conference held in Lucknow that the scheme of Government embodied in the report would not serve the best interests of the country, because it would raise grave doubts in the minds of the Musalmans as to their political future in this land. Musalmans did not attach any importance

to my line of argument at that time and Hindu politicians turned down my proposition based on federated provinces. A scheme of Federation only can work well in a subcontinent like India. Provincial autonomy has now preceeded the formation of representative Government at the centre. Mohammadans may now claim that less residuary powers be given to the centre. The inauguration of the provincial autonomy has given a natural right to the provinces to break off at will from the rest of India. So under the real federated scheme, Musalmans will practically live in a Pakistan. It will be up to Musalmans to decide whether they wish to live in Hindustan or to insist on a sepearte home for themselves.

To live in Pakistan or the Federated Hindustan will make no difference to the Muslims. If they propose to live in federated India they live there for their own benefit. If their life is uncomfortable they

will naturally like to sever connection with Hindu India. Hence both from national or communal point of view the cry of Pakistan is ill advised and ill timed. We must get our liberty first and try for some time to honestly make up differences and affect a social and economical revolution. Every pound of our energy should be spent on making Indian people a classless society. After Swaraj, Muslims will not tolerate to live for a moment as untouchables. Social degradation is more pinching than slavery. After Swaraj which will be the natural outcome of this war, Mohammadans will become more desperate. Once politically free they will resent this social treatment with double the vigour and energy. Once a community becomes conscientious of the humiliating treatment, with the passing of time it grows more and more vociferous. Every Hindu and nationalist Musalman should know that the Muslim Community is becoming conscious day by day of the degrading social treatment.

Though the Pakistan-scheme is not without its dangers, but Mohammadans like to drift away further from their Hindu neighbours because they feel uncomfortable in the society of those who have not yet learned to treat their countrymen as their equals. Federation of the autonomous provinces with less residuary powers at the centre can best serve the purpose of Musalmans. It is certain if the social treatment of the Hindus becomes what is desired, then the Musalmans may be made to give more and more powers to the centre. But if on the advice of Hindu Maha Sabha, Hindus take into their heads to become more and more tough in dealings with Musalmans, then Pakistan Movement will gather strength.

Mr. Sirinawasa Iyenger, an ex-President of the Congress, is one of those well meaning gentlemen who are still under the impression that Hindu Muslim problem is one of political nature. Once the Musalmans are satisfied on political issue, both the com-

munities will learn to live amicably. He has gone so far as to suggest that Moham-madans be given half the share of the central Government. I am one of those who humbly suggest that the Hindu Muslim question is not one of political nature but has a social and economical basis. Economically serf and socially humiliated, no community can be satisfied even if some persons are raised to the most exalted positions. Even the masses will demand of them at once to make laws for social leveling and economic justice. If present social and economical conditions are to continue, strife and struggle will go on unabated. Political rights without social and economical justice are meaningless. More share in the centre and more independence in the provinces must accompany a complete change of heart on the part of the Hindu Public. Otherwise more political power to the Muslims will bring them nearer to Hindus only to fight at close quarters.

There is always a cry that Islam is in danger. The man in the street who does not appreciate fully the teachings of religion feels himself called upon to make sacrifices for the sake of Islam. East India Company foreseeing the danger proclaimed their intention of administering the personal law of the Muslims and Hindus through their own Qazis and Judges. It is necessary that it may be made known to the Muslim public that under Swaraj Government they will have their own Qazis to administer their personal law as in the time of the East India Company. On behalf of the Ahrar Party their leaders invited the attention of other parties in the country to this demand. I know that upper strata of the Muslim community is not in favour of this demand because they do not want their property to be administered in accordance with the law of Islam. It may be noted that Congress Leaders are not against this demand but the vocal section of the Community is not enthusiastic

about it, so nothing could be done in this respect after the Karachi Congress, which assured all communities to safeguard their personal law.

In short if Muslims get proper share in the centre, more power is given to the provinces and personal law of Muslims is administered through Qazis, Muslims will be as secure in Hindustan as they would be in Pakistan provided the Governments in provinces and centre are based on social and economic justice. Social tyranny and economic boycott ought to be considered cardinal sins in the country, otherwise Muslim public opinion would continue to clamour for Pakistan where they hope to live in peace and freedom.

All the exponents of Pakistan contemplate to let the Hindus and Sikhs live side by side with them as at present. Hindus and Sikhs with present prejudices of untouchability will continue to make the Pakistan an Achutistan. Then perhaps

Musalmans will think of embarking on a new scheme of transfer of population. This cannot be done unless we endeavour to carry things with a high hand. Who can dare to think that transfer of populations will be a smooth sailing? Is the present leadership of the Muslim League strong enough and sacrificial enough to force the issue? Muslim League always presented itself to me as a political club of idlers and parasites. They have not yet dreamt of the horrors that will follow the Pakistan scheme. They sit satiated, with their heads full of castles in the air. They honestly hope that British Government will make Pakistan a comfortable home for them. Gain without pain is the hope of those who live in a fool's paradise. Unless Mohammadans make up their mind to go through fire and water their vainly imagined fancies will bear no fruit. But I offer a more practical proposition. Federated India with less powers at the centre will be a full dominion status

for Musalmans. They can break off their connection at any time from Hindu India if they find that their life has been made intolerable under the Federal Government. To contemplate the vivisection of India at this stage is urging the community to extreme measures without corresponding gain.

How long will we live a cat-and-dog life in India? I am glad to note that Mahatama Gandhi has wisely declared that the Pakistan scheme is no calamity. If we cannot live with each other like good neighbours let us part as friends and live a peaceful life in our respective homes. To Muslims I say "Why should we put off the days of our salvation by discussing the utopian scheme of Pakistan which has no practical value unless and untill we throw off the foreign yoke".

7.—THE CONCLUSION

Old world order is dying. You will hear of it no more. Every cloud has a silver lining. War in Europe is sure to yield good results for humanity as a whole. We must look forward with hope. The world revolution will not but revolutionise the mentality of the Indian people. Though we are eaten up from within and are weakened, yet we may hope to emerge strong from this world conflict. We can recreate India which may be a great asset for the mankind. I am not halting between the two opinions and am frankly of the view that Hindus and Musalmans do constitute the two separate nations at present, still I hope that once we manage to rise from beneath the foreign heel, India may be able to lead the world to peace and prosperity.

There are some Mohammadans who feel that Hindus cannot be gained over at any

terms and therefore they do not wish to try the chance. They think that vivisection of India is the only remedy. Through their social and economical boycott, Musalmans are cast adrift upon the world without resources. Those Musalmans who speak in this strain should realise that Government service has become the be all and end all of us all. We do not rely on our own energy and like Sycophants wish to bask in the sun of official favour. Muslim was the soldier of God. He was the born leader of nations. But now the spirit of pleasure prevails over the spirit of sacrifice. They have forgotten that those who adhere at all cost to truth and sacrifice their all for the good of the people will soon find the promised land where all that they sacrificed is restored to them. Why Musalmans listen to the call of duty with the air of a man quite borne down with disappointments? It is Islam that teaches them never to be disappointed and against all miseries their spirit should bear up un-

broken. I have frankly admitted that present atmosphere is quite suffocating for Moham-madans. It will require Herculean efforts to build a seperate social and economic structure for the Muslim community in India and I have suggested the remedy. The truth is that too great a faith has been placed by all political organisations in political advance and too little altogether in moulding the present to ensure the future social harmony. The signs of the times are ominous. The intelligence of the Muslim must percieve the danger ahead. Happy quiet life after their own heart is possible only after struggle. You have to pull to its feet a nation which has been centuries deep in rot, that ought to be done courageously and cautiously. With unshakable certainty of a dreamer we have to carry out our scheme of social and economical revolution, but we must not declare war on Hindu society. We have every right to cure our society of Hindu—made sufferings but at the same time we must take care

not to create bad blood between the communities. Hindu is ostentatiously wrong in treating the Musalman as untouchable but we should not behave like a man beside himself. We have to convince the Hindu that we are not satisfied with his treatment and at the same time we have to give proof of our good intentions by our benevolent deeds. We must live the life of a true Muslim who is the friend of all and enemy of none; ever ready to offer a helping hand to all who are needy. Social service to all alike should be our proud badge of distinction. We have still to do a great deal to banish fear and doubt from the heart of our Hindu neighbours who are always suspicious of our political designs. Tell them frankly that Pakistan scheme is gaining impetus because of their treatment with the Musalman, but never hesitate to serve your Hindu countrymen. You must know in the heart of hearts that Pakistan scheme is the outcome of the defeatist mentality and can be our last resort if we

fail to change the hearts of Hindus. Otherwise the best course for us is to become leaders of the Indian people not by the dint of brute force but through service and sacrifice. Show your Islamic character by treating all people kindly. Refuse to be treated as untouchables but at the same time make up your mind to treat Shudras as human beings. Lip sympathy and mere generosity of outlook will not do any good to Shudras. We must lay low the demon of untouchability and set them free from its clutches. Obliterate all prejudices of the past. Know that God is angry with us because we are also responsible for the present inhuman treatment to the human beings. Let us go down on our knees and ask pardon of the Shudras for our past conduct and beg Almighty God to help us in treating the lowly born people as equal partners in a new social order. For the ill treatment of our countrymen we have been punished with foreign domination. We must turn over a new leaf, mend our ways and

learn to live with our neighbours, especially the Shudras, as brothers. Then and then alone a new era will dawn upon us. We have lost Hindustan, we will lose even Pakistan, if we do not say good—bye to our slave mentality and become the true soldiers of Islam.

Brothers in faith! Majority of the Musalmans lives in Pakistan already. We have our majority provinces. We are nine crores in number but have no resolution to live the life of true Musalmans. We should abhor to cherish the idea of subjugating nations but we must try to maintain our superiority over others, through high morals, great sacrifices and continued service. We are not to exploit others but to win over the heart of the communities by kind treatment. Aspire only to become leaders of the people, never covet to lay hands on the crowns of Kings, or greedily look to the wealth of the nations. Distribute the wealth equally, treat Muslims and non-

Muslims justly. We have to lead the world to prosperity and peace, therefore we must make our character sublime. We have to drag out humanity from the mire of miseries. Let us try to live in India as a community which is morally strong and ready to render every help to those who stand in need of it. To live a helpless life and to be treated as untouchables is shameful for a Musalman. We must first blot out untouchability and win the freedom of India; and after that if we see that Hindu society is still tough and means to continue the same treatment with us as before, we have every right to partition India into two comfortable homes.—Hindustan and Pakistan. But where is that promised land? What are its boundries? No one knows and perhaps will not know till the doom's day. We must not run after mirage but try to live in India as good citizens and morally strong people. We must join hands with the lower strata of

the other communities and clamour for social levelling and economic justice. I am sure that Nawabs and Knights of my own community will turn down my advice because they themselves do not believe in social levelling and economic justice. Hindu capitalists want a Hindustan where they may be able to safely lord over the destinies of the poor classes of all the communities. Musalmans of high houses likewise want a Pakistan where they may exploit and rule the lower classes of the Hindus and the Musalmans alike. Sikhs of the upper classes also want a Punjab where they may comfortably rule and exploit Hindu, Muslim and Sikh Masses. Partition of India is in fact the cry of upper classes of all the three communities. It is not a communal demand as some people think but a stunt in order that the poor classes may not concentrate their thoughts and energies on all important questions of social and economic justice. It will be a very sad day for the masses of this country when the League

and the Congress will cease the glove fight and the capitalists of both the communities join hands to exploit the people. This fight of the upper classes is a blessing in disguise. May God perpetuate it for the good of the masses.

But we Ahrars must not lose time in merely taking stock of the situation and go on criticising what the great guns of Congress and the big drums of the League say and do. We represent those whose lips are sealed by the cares of tomorrow and for whom this world has become the vale of tears. Therefore it is our duty, to boldly, come forward and declare to the world that Ahrars stand for the following programme

- (1) Equal distribution of the wealth of the country.
- (2) Removal of untouchability.
- (3) Respect of every religion and complete autonomy to live according to Shariat.

If the Hindu community any way thwarts our way, then and then only we should join hands with Mr. Jinnah and raise the slogan of Pakistan. Muslims now refuse to live as serfs of the Hindus economically, and as their untouchables socially. Though we know that Pakistan is an unpracticable scheme but we will make up our differences with the Muslim League and fight those forces that keep us down. We are fighting for the freedom of India and at the same time we declare that Mohammadan will not live as underdogs of any community or class.

THE END.

